



LOST IN THE FOREST

By the courtesy of the Artist, Mr. Nandalal Bose.

வினோபாஸந்த புத்தகசாலை
ஹிந்து மதாபிமான சங்கம்
கரையூர்.

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AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

(1)

I THINK I have come to the verge of understanding one thing. Man has so fanned the flame of the loves of men and women, as to make it overpass its rightful domain, and now, even in the name of humanity itself, he cannot bring it back under control. Man's worship has idolised his passion,—but no more of human sacrifice at its shrine, say I. We must break the spell of song and story, of blushes, smiles and tears, which it has cast over us.

I went into my bedroom this morning, to fetch a book. It is long since I have been there in the day time. A pang passed through me as I looked round it to-day, in the morning light. On the clothes rack was hanging a *sari* of Bimal's, crinkled ready for wear. On the dressing table were her perfumes, her comb, her hair-pins, and with them, still, her vermilion box! Underneath were her tiny gold-embroidered slippers.

Once, in the old days, when Bimal had not yet overcome her objections to shoes, I had got these out from Lucknow, to tempt her. The first time she was ready to drop for very shame, to go in them even from the room to the verandah. Since then she has worn out many shoes, but has treasured up this pair. When first showing her the slippers, I chaffed her over a curious practice of hers: "I have often caught you taking the dust of my feet, thinking me asleep! These are the offerings of my worship to ward the dust off the feet of my wakeful divinity." "You

must not say such things," she protested, "or I will never wear your shoes!"

This bedroom of mine,—it has a subtle atmosphere which goes straight to my heart. I was never aware, as I am to-day, how my thirsting heart has been sending out rootlets clinging round each and every familiar object. The severing of the main root, I see, is not enough to set life free. Even these little slippers serve to hold one back.

My wandering eyes fall on the niche. My portrait there is looking the same as ever, in spite of the flowers scattered round it having been withered black! Of all the things in the room their greeting strikes me as sincere. They are still here simply because it was not felt worth while even to remove them. Never mind; let me welcome truth, albeit in such sere and sorry garb, and look forward to the time when I shall be able to do so unmoved, as does my photograph.

As I stood there, Bimal came in from behind. I hastily turned my eyes from the niche to the shelves as I muttered: "I came to get *Amiel's Journal*." What need had I to volunteer an explanation? I felt like a wrong-doer, a trespasser, come to pry into a secret not meant for me. I could not look Bimal in the face, but hurried away.

(2)

I had just made the discovery that it was useless to keep up a pretence of reading in my room outside, and also that it was equally beyond me to busy myself attending to anything at all, so that all the days of my future bid fair to congeal into one solid mass and settle heavily on my breast for good, when Panchu, the tenant of a neighbouring *Zamindar*, came up to me

* The vermilion mark on the forehead, or at the parting of the hair, is the sign of a devoted wife's solicitude for her husband's welfare.

with a basketful of cocoanuts and greeted me with a profound obeisance.

"Well Panchu," said I. "What is all this for?"

I had got to know Panchu through my master. He was extremely poor, nor was I in a position to do anything for him, so I supposed this present was intended to procure a tip to help the poor fellow to make both ends meet. I took some money from my purse and held it out towards him, but with folded hands he protested: "I cannot take that, Sir!"

"Why, what is the matter?"

"Let me make a clean breast of it, Sir. Once, when I was hard pressed, I stole some cocoanuts from the garden here. I am getting old, and may die any day, so I have come to pay them back."

Amiel's Journal could not have done me any good to-day. But these words of Panchu lightened my heart. There are more things in life than the union or separation of man and woman. The great world stretches far beyond, and one can truly measure one's own joys and sorrows when standing in its midst.

Panchu was devoted to my master. I know well enough how he manages to eke out a livelihood. He is up before dawn every day, and with a basket of *pan* leaves, twists of tobacco, coloured cotton yarn, and little combs, looking glasses and other trinkets beloved of the village women, he wades through the knee-deep water of the marsh and goes over to the *Namasudra* quarters. There he barter his goods for rice, which fetches him a little more than their price in money. If he can get back soon enough he goes out again, after a hurried meal, to the sweetmeat seller's where he assists in beating sugar for wafers. As soon as he comes home he sits at his shell-bangle making, plodding on often till midnight. All this cruel toil does not earn a bare two meals a day, for himself and his family, for much more than half the year. His method of eating is to begin with a good filling goblet of water, and his staple food is the cheapest kind of seedy banana. And yet the family has to go with only one meal a day for the rest of the year.

At one time I had an idea of making him a charity allowance, "but," said my master, "your gift may destroy the man, it cannot destroy the hardship of his lot. Mother Bengal has not only this one

Panchu. If the milk in her breasts has run dry, that cannot be supplied from the outside."

These are thoughts which give one pause, and I decided to devote myself to working it out. That very day I said to Bimal: "Let us dedicate our lives to remove the root of this sorrow in our country."

"You are my Prince Siddharta,* I see," she replied with a smile. "But do not let the torrent of your feelings end by sweeping me away, also!"

"Siddharta took his vows alone, I want ours to be a joint arrangement."

The idea passed away in talk. The fact is, Bimal is at heart what is called a 'lady.' Though her own people are not well off, she was born a Rani. She has no doubts in her mind that there is a lower unit of measure for the trials and troubles of the 'lower classes.' Want is, of course, a permanent feature of their lives, but does not necessarily mean 'want' to them. Their very smallness protects them, as the banks protect the pool; by widening bounds only the slime is exposed!

The real fact is, Bimal has only come into my home, not into my life.

BIMALA'S STORY.

(1)

The thing that was agitating me within was merely a variation of the stormy passion outside which swept the country from one end to the other. The car of the wielder of my destiny was fast approaching, and the sound of its wheels reverberated in my being. I had a constant feeling that something extraordinary might happen any moment, for which, however, the responsibility would not be mine. Was I not removed from the plane in which right and wrong, and the feelings of others, have to be considered? Had I ever wanted this,—had I ever been waiting or hoping for any such thing? Look at my whole life and tell me, then, if I was in any way accountable.

Through all my past I had been consistent in my devotion,—but when at length it came to the boon, a different god appeared! And just as the awakened country, with its *Bande Mataram*, thrills in salutation to the unrealised future before it, so do all my veins and nerves send forth

* Who eventually became Buddha.

shocks of welcome to the unthought of, the unknown, the importunate stranger.

One night I left my bed and slipped out of my room on to the open terrace. Beyond our garden wall are fields of ripening rice. Through the gaps in the village groves to the North, glimpses of the river are seen. The whole scene slept in the darkness like the vague embryo of some future creation.

In that future I saw my country, a woman like myself, standing expectant. She has been drawn forth from her home-corner by the sudden call of some Unknown. She has had no time to pause or ponder, or to light herself a torch, as she rushed forward into the darkness ahead. I know well how her very soul responds to the distant flute-strains which call her; how her breast rises and falls; how she feels she nears it, nay it is already hers, so that it matters not even if she run blind-fold. She is no mother. There is no call to her of children in their hunger, no home to be lighted of an evening, no household work to be done. No; she hies to her tryst, for this is the land of the *Vaishnava* Poets. She has left home, forgotten domestic duties; she has nothing but an unfathomable yearning which hurries her on,—by what road, to what goal, she recks not.

I, also, am possessed of just such a yearning. I have, likewise, lost my home, and also lost my way. Both the end and the means have become equally shadowy to me. There remains only the yearning and the hurrying on. O wretched nightfarer! When the dawn reddens you will see no trace of a way to return. But why return? Death will serve as well. If the Dark which sounded the flute should lead to destruction, why trouble about the hereafter? When I am merged in its blackness, neither I, nor good and bad, nor laughter, nor tears, shall be any more!

(2)

In Bengal the machinery of time was suddenly run at full pressure, and so things which were difficult became easy, one following soon after another. Nothing could be held back any more, even in our corner of the country. In the beginning our district was backward, for my husband was unwilling to put any outside compulsion on the villagers. "Those who make sacrifices for their country's sake are indeed her servants," he would say, "but those who

compel others to make them in her name are her enemies. They would cut freedom at the root to gain it at the top."

But when Sandip came and settled here, and his followers began to move about the country, speaking in towns and market-places, waves of excitement came rolling up to us as well. A band of young fellows of the locality attached themselves to him even some who had been known as a disgrace to the village! But the glow of their genuine enthusiasm lighted them up, inside as well as outside. It became quite clear that when the pure breezes of a great joy and hope sweep through the land, all dirt and decay are cleansed away. It is hard, indeed, for men to be frank and straight and healthy when their country is in the throes of dejection.

Then were all eyes turned on my husband from whose estates, alone, foreign sugar and salt and foreign cloths had not been banished. Even the estate officers began to feel awkward and ashamed over it. And yet, sometime ago, when my husband began to import country-made articles into our village, he had been secretly and openly twitted for his folly, by old and young alike. When *Swadeshi* had not yet become a boast, we had despised it with all our hearts.

My husband still sharpens his Indian-made pencils with his Indian-made knife, does his writing with reed pens, drinks his water out of a bell-metal goblet, and works at night in the light of an old-fashioned castor-oil lamp. But this dull, milk-and-watery *Swadeshi* of his never appealed to us. Rather had we always felt ashamed of the inelegant, unfashionable furniture of his reception rooms, especially when he had the magistrate or any other European as his guest.

My husband used to make light of my protests. "Why allow such trifles to upset you?" he would say with a smile.

"They will think us barbarians, or at all events wanting in polish."

"If they do, I will pay them back by thinking that their polish does not go deeper than their white skins."

My husband had an ordinary brass pot on his writing table which he used as a flower vase. It has often happened that when I had news of some European guest I would steal into his room and put in its place a glass vase of European make.

"Look here, Bimal," he objected at

length. "That brass pot is as unconscious of itself as those blossoms are; but this thing protests its purpose so loudly, it is only fit for artificial flowers."

The Second Rani, alone, pandered to my husband's whims. Once she comes panting to say: "Oh, brother, have you heard? Such lovely Indian soaps have come out! My days of luxury are gone by, still, if they contain no animal fat, I should like to try some."

This sort of thing makes my husband beam all over, and the house is deluged with Indian scents and soaps. Soaps indeed! They are more like lumps of caustic soda. And do I not know that what my sister-in-law uses on herself are the European soaps of old, while these are made over to the maids for washing clothes?

Another time it is: "Oh, brother dear, do get me some of these new Indian pen-holders."

Her 'brother' bubbles up as usual, and my sister-in-law's room becomes littered with all kinds of awful sticks that go by the name of *Swadeshi* pen-holders. Not that it makes any difference to her, for reading and writing are out of her line. Still, in her writing-case lies the self-same ivory pen-holder, the only one ever handled.

The fact is, all this was intended as a hit at me, because I would not keep my husband company in his vagaries. It was no good trying to show up my sister-in-law's insincerity; my husband's face would set so hard, if I barely touched on it. One only gets into trouble, trying to save such people from being imposed upon!

The Second Rani loves sewing. One day I could not help blurting out: "What a humbug you are, Sister! When your 'brother' is present, your mouth waters at the very mention of *Swadeshi* scissors, but it is the English-made articles everytime, when you work."

"What harm?" she replied. "Do you not see what pleasure it gives him? We have grown up together in this house, since he was a boy. I simply cannot bear, as you can, the sight of the smile leaving his face. Poor dear, he has no amusement except this playing at shop-keeping. You are his only dissipation, and will yet be his ruin!"

"Whatever you may say, it is not right to be double-faced." I retorted.

My sister-in-law laughed out in my

face. "Oh our artless little Junior Rani!—straight as a schoolmaster's rod, eh? But woman is not built that way. She is soft and supple, so she may bend without being crooked."

I could not forget those words: "You are his dissipation, and will be his ruin!" To-day I feel: if a man needs must have some intoxicant, let it not be a woman.

(3)

Suksar, within our estates, is one of the biggest trade centres in the district. On one side of a stretch of water there is held a daily bazar; on the other, a weekly market. During the Rains when this piece of water gets connected with the river, and boats can come through, great quantities of cotton yarns, and woollen stuffs for the coming winter, are brought in for sale.

At the height of our enthusiasm Sandip laid it down that all foreign articles, together with the demon of foreign influence, must be driven out of our territory.

"Of course!" said I, girding myself up for a fight.

"I have had words with Nikhil about it," said Sandip. "He does not mind speechifying, says he, but he will not have coercion!"

"I will see to that," I said, with a proud sense of power. I knew how deep was my husband's love for me. Had I been in my senses I should have allowed myself to be torn to pieces rather than assert my claim to *that*, at such a time. But must not Sandip be impressed with the full strength of my *shakti*?

Sandip had brought home to me, in his irresistible way, how the cosmic Energy was revealed for each individual in the shape of some special affinity. And listening to his allegories I had forgotten that I was plain and simple Bimala. I was *Shakti*; also an embodiment of Universal Joy; nothing could fetter me, nothing was impossible for me; whatever I touched would gain new life. The world around me was a fresh creation of mine; for behold, before my heart's response had touched it, there had not been this wealth of gold in the Autumn sky! And this hero, this true servant of the country, this devotee of mine,—this flaming intelligence, this burning energy, this shining genius,—him also was I creating from

moment to moment; have I not seen how my presence pours fresh life into him every time!

The other day Sandip begged me to receive a young lad, an ardent disciple of his. In a moment I could see a new light flash out from his eyes, and know that he had a vision of *Shakti* manifest, that my creative force had begun its work in his blood. "What sorcery is this of yours!" exclaimed Sandip next day. "That boy is a boy no longer, the wick of his life is all ablaze. Who can hide your fire under your home-roof? Everyone of them must be touched up by it, sooner or later, and when every lamp is alight what a grand carnival of a *Dewali* we shall have in the country?"

Blinded with the brilliance of my own glory I had decided to grant my devotee this boon. I was overweeningly confident that none could balk me of what I really wanted. When I returned to my room after my talk with Sandip, I loosed my hair and tied it up over again. Miss Gilby had taught me a way of brushing it up from the neck and piling it in a knot over my head. This style was a favorite one of my husband's. "It is a pity," he once said, "that providence should have chosen poor me, instead of poet Kalidas, for revealing all the wonders of a woman's neck. The poet would probably have likened it to a flower-stem, but I feel it to be a torch, holding aloft the ebony radiance of your hair." With which he . . . but why, oh why, do I go back to all that?

I sent for my husband. In the old days I could contrive a hundred and one excuses, good or bad, to get him to come to me. Now that all this had stopped for days I had lost the art of contriving.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

(3)

Panchu's wife has just died of a lingering consumption. Panchu must undergo a purification ceremony to cleanse himself of sin and to propitiate his community. The community has calculated and informed him that it will cost two thousand, three hundred, and fifty rupees!

"How absurd!" I cried, highly indignant. "Don't submit to this, Panchu. What can they do to you?"

Raising to me his patient eyes like those of a tired-out beast of burden, he said: "There is my eldest girl, Sir, she will have

to be married. And my poor old woman's last rites have to be put through."

"Even if the sin were yours, Panchu," I mused aloud, "you have surely suffered enough for it already."

"That is so, Sir," he naively assented. "I had to sell part of my land and mortgage the rest to meet the Doctor's bills. But there is no escape from the offerings I have to make the Brahmins."

What was the use of arguing? When will come the time, I wondered, for the purification of the Brahmins who can accept such offerings?

After his wife's illness and funeral, Panchu who had been tottering on the brink of starvation, went altogether beyond his depth. In a desperate attempt to gain consolation of some sort he took to sitting at the feet of a wandering ascetic, and succeeded in acquiring philosophy enough to forget that his children went hungry. He kept himself steeped for a time in the idea that the world is vanity, and if of pleasure it has none, pain also is a delusion. Then, at last, one night he left his little ones in their tumble-down hovel, and started off wandering on his own account.

I knew nothing of this at the time, for then a veritable ocean-churning by gods and demons was going on in my own mind. Nor did my master tell me that he had taken Panchu's deserted children under his own roof and was caring for them, though alone in the house, with his school to attend to the whole day.

After a month Panchu came back, his ascetic fervour considerably worn off. His eldest boy and girl snuggled up to him crying: "Where have you been all this time, father?" His youngest boy filled his lap, his second girl leant over his back with her arms round his neck, and they all wept together. "O Sir!" sobbed Panchu, at length, to my master. "I have not the power to give these little ones enough to eat,—I am not free to run away from them. What has been my sin that I should be scourged so, bound hand and foot?"

In the meantime the thread of Panchu's little trade connections had snapped and he found he could not resume them. He clung on to the shelter of my master's roof, which had first received him on his return, and said not a word of going back home. "Look here, Panchu," my master was at last driven to say. "If you don't

take care of your cottage, it will tumble down altogether. I will lend you some money with which you can do a bit of peddling and return it me little by little."

Panchu was not excessively pleased—was there then no such thing as charity on earth? And when my master asked him to write out an *i.o.u.* for the money, he felt that this favour, demanding a return, was hardly worth having. My master, however, did not care to make an outward gift which would leave an inward obligation. To destroy self-respect is to destroy caste, was his idea.

After signing the note, Panchu's obeisance to my master fell off considerably in its reverence,—the dust-taking was left out. It made my master smile; he asked nothing better than that courtesy should stoop less low. "Respect given and taken truly balances the account between man and man," was the way he put it, "but veneration is over-payment."

Panchu began to buy cloth at the market and peddle it about the village. He did not get much of cash payment, it is true, but what he could realise in kind, in the way of rice, jute and other field produce, went towards settlement of his account. In two month's time he was able to pay back an instalment of my master's debt, and with it there was a corresponding reduction in the depth of his bow. He must have begun to feel that he had been revering as a saint a mere man who had not even risen superior to the lure of lucre.

While Panchu was thus engaged, the full shock of the Swadeshi flood fell on him.

(4)

It was vacation time, and many youths of our village and its neighbourhood had come home from their schools and colleges. They attached themselves to Sandip's leadership with enthusiasm, and some, in their excess of zeal, gave up their studies altogether. Many of the boys had been free pupils of my school here, and some held my college scholarships in Calcutta. They came to see me in a body, and demanded that I should banish foreign goods from my Suksar market.

I told them I could not do it.

They were sarcastic: "Why, Maharaja, will the loss be too much for you?"

I took no notice of the insult in their tone, and was about to reply that the loss

would fall on the poor traders and their customers, not on me, when my master, who was present, interposed.

"Yes, the loss will be his,—not yours, that is clear enough," he said.

"But for one's country . . ."

"The country does not mean the soil, but the men on it," interrupted my master again. "Have you, before, wasted so much as a glance on what was happening to them? But now you would dictate what salt they shall eat, what clothes they shall wear. Why should they put up with such tyranny, and why should we let them?"

"But we have taken to Indian salt and sugar and cloth ourselves."

"You may do as you please to work off your irritation, to keep up your fanaticism; you are well off, you need not mind the cost. The poor do not want to stand in your way, but you insist on their submitting to your compulsion. As it is, every moment of theirs is a life-and-death struggle for a bare living; you cannot even imagine the difference a few pice means to them,—so little have you in common. You have spent your whole past in a superior compartment, and now you come down to use them as tools for the wreaking of your wrath. I call it cowardly."

They were all old pupils of my master, so they did not venture to be disrespectful, though they were quivering with indignation. They turned on me. "Will you then be the only one, Maharaja, to put obstacles in the way of what the country would achieve?"

"Who am I, that I should dare do such a thing? Would I not rather lay down my life to help it?"

The M. A. student smiled a crooked smile, as he asked: "May we inquire what you are actually doing to help?"

"I have imported Indian mill-made yarn and kept it for sale in my Suksar market, and also sent bales of it to markets belonging to neighbouring *Zamindars*."

"But we have been to your market, Maharaja," the same student exclaimed, "and found nobody buying this yarn."

"That is neither my fault, nor the fault of my market. It only shows the whole country has not taken your vow."

"That is not all," my master went on. "It shows that what you have pledged yourselves to do is only to pester others. You want dealers, who have not taken

your vow, to buy that yarn; weavers, who have not taken your vow, to make it up; and their wares eventually to be foisted on to consumers who also have not taken your vow. The method? Your clamour, and the *Zamindar's* oppression. The result: all righteousness yours, all abstemiousness theirs!"

"And may we venture to ask, further, what your share of the abstinence has been?" pursued a science student.

"You want to know, do you?" replied my master. "It is Nikhil himself who has to buy up that Indian mill yarn; he has had to start a weaving school to get it woven; and to judge by his past brilliant business exploits, by the time his cotton fabrics leave the loom their cost will be that of cloth-of-gold; so they will only find a use, perhaps, as curtains for his drawing room, even though their flimsiness may fail to screen him. When you get tired of your vow, you will laugh the loudest at their artistic effect. And if their workmanship is ever truly appreciated at all, it will be by foreigners."

I have known my master all my life, but never seen him so excited, I could see that the pain had been silently accumulating in his heart for some time, because of his surpassing love for me, and that his habitual self-possession had become secretly undermined to the breaking point.

"You are our elders," said the medical student. "It is unseemly that we should bandy words with you. But tell us, pray, finally, are you determined not to oust foreign articles from your market?"

"I will not," I said, "because they are not mine."

"Because that will cause you a loss!" smiled the M.A. student.

"Because he, whose is the loss, is the best judge," retorted my master.

With a shout of *Bande Mataram* they left us.

(To be continued.)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

DEMOCRACY IN ANCIENT INDIA

By PANDIT VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA, SASTRI.

MUCH has been said in this REVIEW to show that the democratic idea in its different phases was sufficiently developed in ancient India and that it may still be found to a considerable degree even in our family and social matters. It is, however, to be regretted, that it has unfortunately begun to disappear from the families and communities over-influenced by western modes of life. English people may or may not admit, it doesn't matter, but it is quite true, that democracy was well rooted in ancient Indian soil, as is evident from its authoritative literature. I do not wish to enter into much detail, nor wish to repeat what has been said on this point by other writers; but shall try only to point out, referring specially to one or two Buddhist Jataka stories, how the democratic idea once worked in Indian minds. The Vinaya Pitaka from beginning to end clearly

shows how the Buddhist brotherhood (सङ्घ) was governed entirely on democratic principles. One should also mark here in this connection, the act of वेभुयासिका, i. e., putting to the vote and deciding by a majority. For giving the reader an idea of the particular procedure adopted, I quote the following passages from the Chullavagga as translated into English in the Vinaya Texts, Part III, (SBE. Vol. XX) :—

"Now at that time the Bhikkhus in Chapter (Samgha) assembled, since they became violent, quarrelsome, and disputatious, and kept on wounding one another with sharp words, were unable to settle the disputed questions (that was brought before them).

They told this matter to the Blessed one.

"I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority. A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as

taker of the voting tickets*—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear,† one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

And thus shall he be appointed.

First the Bhikkhu is to be requested (whether he will undertake the office). Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the Samgha, saying,

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha appoint a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the voting tickets.

"This is the motion."

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me. The Samgha appoints a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the tickets. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the Bhikkhu of such and such a name being appointed as taker of the tickets, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Bhikkhu of such and such a name is appointed by the Samgha as taker of the voting tickets. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand." (IV. 9).

I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes, in order to appease such Bhikkhus—the secret method, the whispering method, and the open method.

And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting tickets of different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him he is to say to him thus: "This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion; this is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't show it to anybody." If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the vote as well taken. This, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking the votes.

And how, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to whisper in each Bhikkhu's ear, "This is the ticket of those of such an opinion; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't tell anybody (which you have voted)." If he ascertains that those, etc., as above..... Thus O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes.

And how, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking votes? If he ascertains (beforehand) that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly. Thus O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking the votes." (iv. 14. 26; see also iv. 10, and 14. 17).

Now the story alluded to (Ulūka Jātaka, 270; vol. II, p. 353) briefly runs as follows:—

* सवाका, = शवाका, any small stake or stick; it was made of a slip of wood, bark, bamboo, talipot leaf or other similar material.

† These are the four qualifications always ascribed to one who rightly fills any judicial office.

‡ This is chiefly taken from the English translation by W. H. D. Rouse, Vol. II, p. 242.

In the past the people of the first cycle of the world (*pathamakappika*) being assembled chose for their king a handsome, auspicious and commanding person, who was perfect in every respect. The quadrupeds also gathered and chose a Lion for their king, and the fish, too, in the ocean chose a fish, Ananda, as their king.

Now the birds in the Himalayas seeing that the men etc., have chosen their respective kings, gathered together and proposed to chose a king for them thinking that they should not live without a king. So they searched about him and chose an Owl, saying, "We like him."

Then in order to take vote (अजन्तासयगमहस्य, *lit.* 'taking of opinion') a bird rose up and proclaimed it twice in the gathering and just as he was going to proclaim once more, (for according to the prevailing practice it was to be proclaimed thrice), a crow rose up and cried out 'Stop there!' And thinking to himself 'If his face looks so when he is being consecrated as king, what will it look like when he gets angry?' Certainly we shall be destroyed like sesame seeds thrown upon a hot frying pan, when he would look at us in anger,' he said to his kinsmen that with their permission he would like to say only one thing. And when permission was given by them saying 'Well friend, say only what is good and right with the reason thereof. (You have right to speak), for we know there are wise and bright ones among the younger birds,' he said what he had to say advancing his reason thereof as described above, and announced emphatically his own view—'I don't like him! I don't like him!'

He was heard by the assembly, giving up the proposal in favour of the Owl's consecration. And so then the birds chose a golden Goose for their king and dispersed.

We need not say that thenceforth enmity was nursed by the Crow and Owl towards each other.

The story speaks for itself. It is a very short one, but reveals a very great thing, viz., the belief of the people of India at that time in the strength of the voice of the people as regards the consecration of a king. It clearly indicates the natural bent of the Indian minds towards the democratic idea regarding the government of their country. The Jataka story I have quoted should not be dismissed as a mere fable relating to the lower animals. De-

democratic methods of electing a king could have been ascribed to the lower animals also only by a writer and among a people perfectly familiar with such methods in the conduct of human affairs.

Now see again how this democratic idea was once strong even in social matters in those days. The readers are here referred to the ancient Commentary (*Athakatha*) upon a Jātaka story of the same volume (*Susīma Jātaka*, 163, vol. II, p. 45). It is said that in Sāvattthi each family individually used to give alms sometimes to the Buddha and his followers and sometimes to other religious sects. Sometimes a number of people would form a company and would thus give alms to them. So sometimes the inhabitants of one street or sometimes the whole population of the city combining themselves together would collect voluntary offerings (Pali इन्द्र, Hindi चन्दा,

Bengali चाँदा, cf. दंडा) and present them to religious sects.

On one occasion all the inhabitants formed a body and collected gifts, but then divided into two parties one demanding to give them to the Buddha and his followers and the other to other sects. Then it was proposed by both the parties that vote should be taken ("सम्बुद्धं करिस्साम"), and then it was seen that the majority was formed of those who were in favour of the Buddha with his followers.* And accordingly the decision was finally arrived at.

So these facts strongly support what has been said by the Sister Nivedita and Mr. Chatterjee, the Editor of this *Review*, about democracy in India in their article "India and Democracy" in *Towards Home Rule*, Part I, 2nd Ed., pp. 52-59.

* "सम्बुद्धताय कृत्याय बहुपुण्यसुखस्य गृहस्य दद्यान्नाति वदन्ता येन बहु जाता ।"

THE FAMILY AS THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY*

BY PROF. RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

Specially Contributed to the Modern Review.

ONE of the worst injuries the modern system of industry has inflicted is the breaking up of family life. There is a growing tendency to employ women and children away from their homes. The employment of women destroys their self-respect; as such, this is a menace to the virtue and integrity of the family. The homes of the labourers are in the slums and tenements. Great Britain has her infamous slums. On the continent most of the larger cities and Berlin especially have large barracks or tenements. Everywhere throughout the cities and especially in Great Britain the city cellars and garret dwellings are in common use, dark and dingy, where the manhood and vigour of the nation are being destroyed. It has been estimated that there are no fewer than 2½ millions of people living in London for whom better homes are required. But

the problem is undoubtedly at its worst in New York. There are blocks packed close with huge, grimy tenements; these tenements are honeycombed with rooms; these rooms are homes for the people. To squeeze in more homes, light and air are slowly shut out. Halls, courts, air-shafts are all left cramped and deep and sunless. They are blocks of a thousand homes. There is very little privacy. Every loud word spoken reaches the ears of a large number of people. The words of a ribald song are flung out shamelessly to all within hearing, whether they choose or not. In blocks so congested dissipation comes easy. Children of both sexes have to sleep with their parents and often with strangers, in the same room, often even in the same bed. The advantages of domesticity are lost. It is the bad housing conditions that are the cause of the increasing alcoholism, of the break-up of the family and of the lack of education for the youth. Foul air, darkness, wretched

* The substance of one of a series of special lectures on Indian Economics delivered recently at the Punjab University.

surroundings, these work on the home by day and night. Here a thousand homes struggle on, while hundreds yield and sink and so pollute the others. So come squalid homes and wretched meals. So come hundreds of others, men and women, young and old, drunk, bestial, vile and brutal. Lastly come the street-walkers, both men and women, who have no homes, and have fallen irrevocably from virtue.

Health laws, police regulations, housing legislation will not be able to remedy this positive danger to civilisation.

The social conditions associated with city life in the west effect the disintegration of the home and the monogamous family. The communistic urban habits are distinctively unfavourable to the principles upon which family life is based. Paul Gohre has described his experience in a German industrial community, where men work all day in a common shop, eat their luncheon in crowds, seek their entertainments in throngs, travel in a mob, and, before marriage, satisfy their sexual appetites in a common brothel. The same phenomena may be observed in any large industrial town in the East or the West.

In cities the cost of living is higher than in the country and there is continual anxiety as to wages and employment in the present, added to a terrible anxiety as to existence in the future. It is for this reason that there is less desire for offspring in cities than in the country side. The child insures the integrity of the family. Families without children under the social and industrial conditions of the city are less stable than families with offspring in the country side. The evil influences of city-life upon the population, both in weakening the vitality and in diminishing the birth-rate are now recognised. Not only is the birth-rate smaller but the death-rate in cities is generally higher than in the villages.

The death-rates in city and country by age periods per 1000 population of corresponding age in the U.S. are given below :—

	Regis- tration Area.	Regis- tration Cities.	Registra- tion States.	Cities.	Rural.
Under 1	165.4	179.9	159.3	184.7	117.4
Under 5	52.1	57.6	49.9	59.7	34.4
5 to 14	4.3	4.7	3.8	4.3	3.2
15 to 24	6.4	6.7	5.7	5.9	5.3
25 to 34	9.0	9.6	8.3	9.1	6.8
35 to 44	11.5	12.6	10.5	12.1	8.0
45 to 64	22.1	24.8	20.3	24.3	15.7

In every period of life the death-rate in the country is much lower. And this is especially true of infancy and very old age.

The death-rate of infants in cities is especially marked. The death-rate of children from all causes in England and Wales in 1904 was 51.62 per thousand ; 60.69 in urban counties, and 38.14 in rural counties. The highest death-rate among children was Lancashire 67.67 ; the next highest was Durham 62.37 ; while London came twelfth. The lowest death-rate was in the county of Westmoreland 24.02. The difference between the death-rate of an industrial district like Lancashire (67.7) and that of a rural district like Westmoreland (24.02) is full of significance. The greater death-rate is due to (1) vice, (2) unhealthy occupations, (3) poverty, (4) insanitary homes,—causes which are entangled with one another. In Germany, the birth-rate for the entire community is from 4 to 6 p.c. higher than for cities.

In the Punjab the urban death-rate last year was 34.98, and the rural rate 30.28 as against 36.17 and 36.15 respectively last year. Lahore and Multan had rates of 36.47 and 35.21 and Amritsar 39.94. As regard the birth-rates, the provincial birth-rate is 45.6 per mille. Amritsar had the highest birth-rate 49, Multan 48 and Lahore only 40. In the Bombay presidency the death-rates in 1916 for rural and urban areas were 34.75 and 43.71 against 27.56 and 32.36 in 1915 respectively. In Bengal the provincial birth-rate is 31.89. In Calcutta the rate is only 20.91. Low birth-rate is also expected in the Indian towns which consist largely of an immigrant population, of tradesmen and litigants who merely resort and do not reside with their families. The provincial death-rate is 27.37. Calcutta gives 27.2 (or corrected 35).

Dr. George Newman in his book "Infant Mortality" has concluded from his studies in Great Britain that 30 p.c. of infant mortality are due to premature birth. This and other anti-natal causes he finds largely due to economic causes in the increased stress of modern life and particularly to the increase of woman's work. Recent German medical investigations have also shown the intimate connection between high infant mortality and woman's work, particularly in mills, working often during

advance pregnancy and too soon after birth. Ignorance in the preparation of food, ill-ventilated tenements, and, in many cases, unavoidable neglect occasioned by mothers being obliged to work away from their children, often leaving their babes in the care of other children, seem to be prime factors in the high mortality among children.

In Bombay presidency the mortality of infants was 199.57 per 1000 births in 1916 as against 172 during the previous year. In Bombay city it was 387 per 1000 live births and in Ahmedabad 353. These appalling figures show the need for action.

Infant Mortality per 1000 births.

London 100	Bombay 387.86	1916
Birmingham 122	329.24	1915
Liverpool 140	385.1	1914
Manchester 129	378.8	1911

In the report of the Executive Health Officer it is remarked: "Generally speaking these (causes of infant mortality) have reference to the social environment and economic condition of the parents, as regards the home and its surroundings, occupation of mothers entailing on the mother hard work during pregnancy and deleterious influence on the health of the child before and after birth, and aided by the unhygienic conditions in which a large proportion of infants are born, to swell the number of those who come into the world only to die." In the slum areas the rates of infant mortality are—

Dhobi Talao	308
Kamathipura	419
Nagpada	402.5

There are 166,337 one-room tenements in the city, giving an average of 4.47 persons per room and no less than 76 p. c. of the population live in one-room tenements. In these one-room tenements the infant mortality is 454.4.

The squalor and the degradation, the misery and the disease in the tenements of Bombay and *bustis* of Calcutta need not be described. We have heard a great deal of the city slums of the West, but few realise that in a comparison of the height, the street system and the open space, our slums are the worst in the world. And there a very large population of our labourers dwell or are huddled together, and all the attendant evils, disease, vice, and death of infants are manifest.

The following table classifies births by

the number of tenements occupied by the parents as also the number of deaths that occurred among infants in Bombay City.

Births and infant mortality by the number of rooms occupied in 1916.

	Births.	Infant mortality.	Infant mortality per 1000 births registered in the tenements
1 Room and under	14,320	6,508	454.4
2 Rooms	2,639	1,007	373.9
3 Rooms	817	188	230.1
4 or more Rooms	743	177	238.2
Road side	59	101	1171.8
Total Number in 1916	21,180	8,215	387.8

It will be observed from the foregoing statement that of the 21,180 live births registered during the year, 14,320 or 67.6 per cent occurred in tenements of one room or less and the number of deaths among such was 6,508 or 45.4 per cent of the births; this proportion varies inversely as the number of rooms occupied; 37.3 per cent in the case of two-room tenements and 23 per cent in the case of three-room tenements.

The lowest percentage of infant mortality 9.18 occurred among children born in hospitals: these figures cannot, however, be compared with those of 1915, which were for 3 months.

A high percentage of deaths in infants under 1 month may indicate low vitality of the infant or unsatisfactory conditions attending child-birth. A high rate for infants of over 6 months may indicate faulty surroundings, bad feeding and dirty water; all of which influence adversely health at every age-period. The following table gives the percentages of deaths occurring at different periods during the first year of life for Bombay city, and for the 4 districts in the Southern Registration District:

District	Under 1 month	Between 1 & 6 months	Between 6 & 12 months
Belgaum	45.10	29.19	257.1
Dharwar	45.41	31.03	23.56
Kanara	44.76	29.29	25.95
Bombay city	34.46	31.37	34.19

vide Fifty-third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for the Government of Bombay, 1916.

The comparison of the death-rates of infants in rural districts and in Bombay city shows the effects of the squalor and the inadequacy of accommodation of our slums on the phenomenal slum infant mortality.

In comparison with the slums whether of Calcutta or of Bombay the peasant's dwelling is much more comfortable, healthy and accommodating. The following is a brief description of a typical cottage in an Orissan village. It is divided into the outer or *Sadr*, the central and the back or inner divisions. Each of these consists of two-rooms, round which verandahs run as the outer enclosure.

The *Sadr* room is open to all, but the rest of the dwelling is private. There is the *Thakur ghar* or the room for worship. Besides these there is also a sitting room, two bed-rooms, a room for keeping valuables, a room with a platform for keeping stores and implements, and a cowshed. In the centre is an open courtyard, a quadrangle. There are a *tulsi-manch* in the middle, and a stock of paddy at a corner.

Farm life in the country contains all the elements that go to the making of a strong and vigorous manhood. In Ireland, where the agricultural population is proportionately much larger than in Great Britain (44 p. c; in Great Britain only 8 p. c. of the population are engaged in agriculture), the best specimens of British manhood are to be seen, although the Irish peasantry are poor and chronically under-fed.

In the country side the moral standard is much higher than in cities. Vice prospers in secrecy. In the villages there are no hiding places for vice, which, however, can stalk abroad openly in the streets of cities where people do not know one another. The disproportion between the sexes in the cities also encourages vice. In India in the mill and factory towns the males outnumber the females by 2 to 1. In Bombay and Howrah there are only 530 and 562 females to every 1000 males. In villages or in non-manufacturing towns the sexes are equally represented, or the female element predominates a little.

In the country the whole family collaborates in agricultural work. Even the children, little boys and girls, have their accustomed work. The co-operation in the work, which is of common interest and which increases the common family income, protects the integrity of the family, and strengthens the bonds of family relationships. In India the co-operative unity of work insures the solidarity of the joint family, and makes for the permanence of

the institution. The joint family is tied to the plot of land which is worked in common for common interest. Nothing can break the joint family so long as agriculture remains unbroken.

In the beginning of cultivation, as the tribe takes possession of land after having cleared it, each family which has taken part in the enterprise takes a share. The land owned in severalty by individual families is not only inherited but is also invariably divided, on the occasion of separation of property, in strict accordance with ancestral shares. The members of the family often divide the land among themselves for convenience of cultivation more in accordance with the appliances at the disposal of each than with the proprietary shares, just as the common land is allotted to the various families on a similar scale. But this division is not a division of property. The family is known to consist of sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, each of whose proportional right depends on his birth and place in the table of descent.

The general custom is that a body of agnates are co-heirs, that the father is head while he lives, but that his sons have inchoate rights with him from the moment of their birth. The great object is to preserve the family property to the agnates. Under no circumstances can a land-owner make a gift of land out of the agnate community.

The Muhammedan tribes also follow the above custom. Some of them are converts no doubt, but original Musalmans like Pathans and others also follow it.

The obvious reason is that the solidarity both of the family and the community bound by natural and tribal ties to the soil is essential to successful agriculture. A will or bequest, a sale of land to an outsider is bound in the long run to react on agricultural industry and is opposed by the agricultural community in the interests of self-preservation.

There is no doubt that the strict Muhammedan law of inheritance, with its complicated exclusion of one branch in the presence of another and so on, is unsuitable for agricultural wealth though it succeeded well when wealth was chiefly in camels and merchandise in a nomadic stage.

The family and the tribe guard their exclusive interests in the soil against out-

siders who may jeopardise agriculture. The family is tied to the land, and devotes its exclusive attention to land improvement. The members of the family help agricultural work directly or indirectly. The housewife gets up at the dawn of day and grinds the *ata* (flour) for the day's consumption at the hand-mill, *chakki*. Then she gets out with the scones and butter-milk left over from last night's supper for her husband to breakfast on before he goes out to his work. Perhaps she has to milk the cows and buffaloes; at all events she must warm the milk of the morning, and churn the milk of previous day. She has to fetch water from the village well and sweep her house and courtyard, cook her husband's dinner and take it out to him in the field, take a turn at the spinning wheel (*charki*) or do some embroidery work; in the evening she prepares the family supper, and heats the evening's milk. In some classes the women work in the fields along with their husbands, helping them to sow and reap, and indeed in everything except holding the plough.

The collaboration of the members of the family in the work of its head is, however, best seen in the cottage of an artisan like the potter and the shoe-maker. Indeed, all artisans can do their work cheaply and with more ease because of this element of co-operation and the moral support it gives. Work in the midst of the family is always encouraging and can never be monotonous.

In every case the housewife is the queen of the garden, of the courtyard, or of the apiary. Above all she is the mistress of the household and the mother of children. This is in striking contrast with the industrial West where the household duties are relegated to a secondary place because they bring no wages, and, if not neglected, are performed in a perfunctory manner which robs it of all value and grace. The home in the West is being narrowed into a place of hurried meals and sleep and is losing its elevating and sweetening character. India, true to the ideals of the past, is decisive in her judgment that the woman is essentially the queen of the household and the mother of the race. The instincts of motherhood developed in the home will deepen and expand and reconstruct society on an eu-psychic basis. In India it is often that home-works become drudgery and

does not rise to the height of a noble idealism. Women are the natural guardians of home-life, of the interests of social purity, and domestic hygiene, and the rights of children. Women are the natural guardians of the sick, the incapables and the unfortunates. Women are also the natural guardians of the general regulation of the relations between the sexes in society which will weed out all forms of corruption, uncleanness, immorality, brutality and bestiality represented by the forces of drink and debauchery. Women by their quiet influences will destroy the nomadic and the caravan spirit, piracy and vagabondage—in one word destroy the spell of monetarism and militarism in social life. They stand for the softening of war and violence among nations, and of conflict and strife among industrial classes. Women as social legislators as well as teachers, as priestesses of humanity, as tenders of the sick and the aged, as guardians of social and individual purity, will serve society as she will serve the home. The home will not cease to be the sphere of their work, homely duties will not be neglected but attract greater attention and more anxious solicitude than at present, but at the same time the home will expand, till the women sweeten and purify the whole of society as they do their homes. The methods of their work will be consistent with the nature and character of the sex, and with their duties to the home. Where women have to live unattached and to earn their own livelihood, as in every society and every industrial stage there will be many, their scheme of life and work will necessarily be different. It is also true that women of special talents may find unrestricted scope for work and the unarrested realisation of their ideals in departments of life and activity hitherto monopolised by the other sex. In the rearrangement of society and the re-distribution of work between the sexes, which is in actual and increasing process during the war in Europe, the environmental conditions of work for both men and women should be suited to their physiological, social and psychic endowment and the special rights and responsibilities arising therefrom. In all attempts at eu-psychic and social reconstruction of the future, society must remember that it has got to make certain sacrifices of its present efficiency for the fullest develop-

ment of the natural gifts and equipment of man as well as woman, in fact for the development of personality of individuals of either sex composing society. Even greater than the so-called incontestable right of motherhood is the woman's right to the development of her personality, in fact the former flows from the latter. Similarly, the duty of bearing arms emanates from man's natural capacity and special responsibility, though the state is bound to tolerate and respect the personality of its members in their activities to realise their own schemes of values and ends as free self-determining agents. In the re-arrangement of social and individual functions and duties, this will be the ultimate standard, the development of the complex and composite personality of each

member of society. The social value will be raised from the end in the biological to the ideal in the echo-sociological plane of existence. Women, no longer exclusively occupied with child-bearing and agricultural and industrial labour like their primitive sisters, will gradually find newer and more varied activities for the realisation of their complex personality; while men, freed from the intense economic struggle, and no longer red in tooth and claw, giving up their arms and weapons, will find ample leisure and scope for the harmonious development of their social and ethical life, unarrested by the constant pressure of military and economic responsibilities that pre-occupy them in modern civilisation.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A.

II

General features : Subjects : Divisions.

WE shall now pass on to the consideration of what classes of States were considered to be within the bounds of International Law in ancient India. Were there any communities in India in the case of which the general rules of international conduct as laid down in works of literature and in actual observance in the various epochs of Ancient History did not apply? Since International Law as law in general in India had its origin in *Dharma*, it may be said that all the Aryan states in India were bound to observe the various rules of *Dharma* in peace or war.

In the Rig-Vedic age certain principles of conduct seem to have been observed by the tribal communities of the time in their dealings with one another. But as the Aryas of that age were not much advanced in civilisation, we could not expect that the intertribal relations would be guided by quite lofty and human motives. The Aryas are said to have

used poisoned arrows² to slay their adversaries in battle. Wholesale assassination³ was a thing not quite unknown. One hymn of the Rig-Veda may even be interpreted as suggesting that the slaughter of pregnant women in battle was not looked upon with abhorrence.⁴

In the *Age of the Epics* whether the nation be Kōsala, Magadha, Kāmbhōja, Pāndava or Kaurava—all are found to accept certain principles of international morality which are clearly expressed in the literature of the age. In later ages also, the same may be held to be true so far as the sovereign and independent states of India were concerned. But we meet with a few cases which to all appearance at least might be treated as being excep-

² Rig Veda, I, 117. 3.

³ E. g., R. V. vii, 18. 11.

⁴ R. V. I, 101. 1.

Barbarities similar to those referred to in the above paragraph have been committed by modern "civilised" European nations. Hence though they are undoubtedly acts of savagery, the most "civilised" modern peoples are still capable of them.—Editor, M. R.

tions to the general rule :—(a) The non-Aryan tribes especially of the Vedic and Epic periods. (b) The vassal, dependent or part-sovereign states which were evolved consequent on the formation of the Imperial states in the Maurya and, later, the Gupta periods.

(a) In the Vedic age when the Aryas and the Dasyus do not seem to be much advanced in the ideas of humanity it could not be said that there was fair fighting on either side. Both, we are told, did not shrink from the use of objectionable agents, instruments and methods of warfare. Both Aryas and non-Aryas may be said to have been guided by more or less the same notions of intertribal morality. In the Epic period we notice that Rāvana, Vibhishana, Sugriva, Vāli, Virāta and various other non-Aryan powers were not behind the Aryas in their ideas of international duty. To cite only a few instances : The conversation⁵ between Vāli and Rama reminds us that the stealthy bolt of Rama which shot Vāli dead was an offence against international law even as known to the Vānara chief. Rāvana spared the life of Hanuman because it was pointed out to him that he was an ambassador from Rama and that the person of an ambassador was sacred and inviolable.⁶ If Ravana's attempted seduction of Sita was an act of war and morally reprehensible it ought to be remembered that the other side had given to Rāvana a *casus belli* by mutilating his sister Sūrpanakhā. Kind hearts were not lacking among the Rakshasas some of whose women were the friends of Sita in her exile. A sense of moral duty among them is proved by the desertion of Vibhishana and the wholesome advice of Kumbhakarna and Mārīcha to Rāvana. The reluctant Mārīcha had to be driven on pain of death to take part in Rāvana's wicked attempt at the seduction of Sita. Kumbhakarna gave a moral discourse⁷ on the wicked conduct of Rāvana when he was awakened by the latter to fight against Rama. A sense of political duty is proved by Kumbhakarna's adhering to Rāvana's side and of chivalry by Rāvana's refraining from the murder of Sita when

he found his overtures repeatedly rejected. These show that the non-Aryans were no strangers to those rules of political morality which it was held were observed or at least ought to be observed at the time. The Aryan bard may explain away the good points of his foes and the weakness of his own men. Still all this testifies to the advanced character of the non-Aryans of the age.

(b) Next, as regards the imperial states of the Maurya and Gupta periods. As we advance from the Epic age we find there was gradual incorporation one by one of the smaller states, once independent and sovereign, for the formation of a *composite state* made up of a dominant state and part-sovereign dependencies and vassal states.⁸ These latter were certainly states in which portions of the power of external sovereignty were certainly held by the dominant country. They were political communities in which the domestic rulers possessed only a portion of the sovereign powers, the remainder being exercised by the head of the 'Imperial State.'⁹ But these *subject states*, though they were deprived of much of their powers of external sovereignty, were recognised as being entitled to the same rights and under the same obligations in peace or war as the dominant state.¹⁰

The history of Ancient India teems with instances of the attempt at colonisation of new lands—specially by the Aryas of non-Aryan territory. There are various instances of the incursions of the Aryas into new tracts of territory and of many a hard fight that had to be fought before the new lands could be acquired. Examples appear in the Epics also of the attempt at settlement and colonisation of new lands by the Aryans and non-Aryans alike. Wars were fought for dominion over the same tract of land¹¹ either uninhabited or inhabited by less powerful tribes. In this process of expansion of the Aryan realm of the north or the non-Aryan realm of Lanka in the south we meet with the formation of *spheres of influence* or *protectorates*. Instances of these may be

⁸ See S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar in *Ind. Ant.* 1916.

⁹ Lawrence: *Principles of International Law*, Ch. III.

¹⁰ *Indian Antiquary*, 1916, *op. cit.*

¹¹ E.g., Kishkindha.

⁵ Ramayana, Kishkindhakandam Sec. 17. Vv. 14 ff.

⁶ Do. Sundarakanda, Sec. 52.

⁷ Do. Yuddhakanda, Sec. 65. Vv. 2-21.

seen in Kishkindha, the realm of the *Vanara* tribe; Khandavavana inhabited by the *Nāgas* and *Ilidimbavana*. These, it could not be said, possessed the essential characteristics that mark the type in modern times.¹² They were not probably considered to be on a level with other independent or partly independent states and do not seem to have been possessed of subject to the same rights and obligations in war and peace.

Thus among the *subjects* of International Law in ancient India we find there were two or three kinds or grades of states :—

(1) *Sovereign and independent states* in each of the ages of the ancient History of India.—Fribal as in the age of the *Mantras*; Territorial as in the age of the *Epics*; Political as in the age of the *Buddha*; or Imperial as in the age of the *Mauryas* or the *Guptas*. Both Aryan and non-Aryan states may be held to have been guided by more or less the same notions of morality in their dealings with one another.

(2) The part-sovereign, dependent states and the vassals of the Maurya and Gupta periods.

(3) *Spheres of influence* or *protectorates* which were for the most part the bones of contention between the Aryan kingdoms of the north and the non-Aryan kingdom of the south.

DIVISIONS.

The accepted divisions of modern international law are war, peace and neutrality. In India also it may be held that these divisions held good in general. The three divisions do not, however, appear clearly in all the periods of the ancient history of India.

In the age of the *Mantras* we find there were only two attitudes among the tribal communities in India at the time—war and no war. These two divisions are clearly seen especially as regards the relations of the Aryas and the *Dasyus*, as the non-Aryan inhabitants of India in the age were styled. Almost every hymn of the *Rig Veda Samhita* bears evidence to the fact that there was constant warfare in the Vedic times not only between the Aryas and non-Aryas but among the Aryas themselves. The Aryan tribes had

petty jealousies and quarrels among themselves which often broke out into internecine wars.¹³ This naturally led the way for diplomatic relations of some Aryan tribes with the *Dasyus* against their fellow-Aryas, and we find the Aryan bards call down the wrath of their deities on Aryas and non-Aryas alike.¹⁴ In course of time such political alliances assumed a permanent character. The 'Battle of Ten Kings' was fought between the *Tritsus*, a pure Aryan race under their leader *Sudās* and a confederacy of ten kings of Aryan and non-Aryan tribes. We do not find, however, rules laid down in the *Rig Veda* regulating the rights and obligations of the tribes in peace or war, and in the actual conduct with one another, the age does not appear to have advanced notions of international morality. But the hymns disclose to us that among the tribal communities of the age war, peace and alliance for war were the only divisions of inter-tribal relations which appear in the *Rig-Vedic* times.

In the Age of the *Epics* the Aryas had formed into nations or states each with territory and organisation of its own. Our evidence shows that the Aryas expanded eastward from the Indus to the Ganges basin; southward along the Indus to its mouth and far down to Cutch and northward along the foot of the Himalayas. But in their advance the Aryas had always to meet the bold resistance of their non-Aryan brethren. The actual relations in war at the time in evidence in the *Epics* were certainly marked by a high standard of international morality in which the non-Aryas also appear to be much advanced. The works of literature of the age are seen to codify the various rules of conduct which were to guide the relations of the time in their dealings with one another.¹⁵

The relations in the Epic age were peaceful as well. Instances are by no means rare of the alliances between non-Aryan and Aryan Kings. The *Pāṇḍavas* were in their period of exile very kindly received at the court of *Virata*. The league of Rama with the *Vānaras*, an indigenous tribe in South India,¹⁶ and the

13 R. V. VIII, 18. 8-17.

14 E.g., R. V. VI, 33. 3 and X, 83. 1.

15 See *Mahabharata*, *Santi Parva*, *Rajadharma-nusasana Parva*.

16 Mysore Gazetteer, I, 277.

re-instatement of Sugriva on the throne of Kishkindha is another case in point. The latter seems to offer to us an instance of the creation of a *sphere of influence* in the south of the Aryan kingdom in the north.

Another division of international relations that is clear to us in the age of the Epics is *Diplomacy*. Even in the Rig Veda¹⁷ we find mention of the 'envoy', but an ambassador used in the sense of a person accredited by one king or country to another appears to be a development of the Epic age. We meet with diplomatic relations carried on between courts in India during times of peace; and the principles of equity regarding this division of international law which guide the nations of modern times appear to have been largely followed by the nations of the Epic age. The Epics abound in instances which illustrate the sacredness and inviolability of the person of ambassadors; the errands on which they were sent and the treatment to be given to them. The literature of the age contains elaborate regulations regarding the subject of 'diplomacy'. 'As the ambassador is only a mouthpiece of others who send him' and as he advocates not his own cause but that of his masters, 'even if he be armed with weapons he should not be slain.'¹⁸ As we advance, we find that there was not only interchange of embassies in India but that some Indian rulers kept friendly relations also with foreign monarchs.

Instances appear largely in the Epics and Purānas of *neutralisation* of persons in war. There were elaborate regulations as regards the noncombatants. To cite only one instance: In the Mahābhārata¹⁹ we find the following were not to be slain in battle.—"Those who are sleeping, thirsty or fatigued, mad or insane; those who are flying or walking unprepared along the road; those who are engaged in eating or drinking; those who have been mortally wounded or extremely weakened by wounds; those who are in sorrow or

skilled in some special art; and those who are camp followers or doing menial services. Thus in addition to war two other divisions of international relations appear in the Epic age in particular—*Diplomacy* and *Neutralisation*.

Manava and other *Dharmasastras* of the same stamp reveal to us rights and obligations in war, peace and diplomacy. Elaborate rules²⁰ were framed by these as regards the conduct of Indian nations in war. Apastamba,²¹ for instance, has: "The Aryans forbid the slaughter of those that had laid down their arms, of those that beg for mercy with flying hair, joined hands and of fugitives." Manu²² speaks about the appointment of an ambassador thus:—"Appoint one who is learned in all sastras, clear, intelligent, and born of noble family, one who has knowledge of दृष्टि (signs) and आकार (forms)."

Kautilya divides foreign rulers under four heads: ²³ (a) अरि (enemy), (b) मित्र (friend), (c) मध्यम (mediator), (d) उदासीन (neutral). अरि and मित्र are again divided by him into two heads *natural* and *artificial*. A king was to consider his immediate neighbour a natural foe.²⁴ The second, fourth and sixth states from a मध्यम are likely to be enemical to him.²⁵ The next king beyond the neighbour whose friendship has been inherited from father and grand-father was his natural friend.²⁶ The third and fifth states from a मध्यम are likely to be friendly.²⁷ A king who 'is merely antagonistic and creates enemies' is a factitious enemy.²⁸ A king whose aid is required by another for temporary purposes of self-preservation is an 'acquired' friend of the latter.²⁹ A मध्यम king is one

20 Manu VII, 90-98 Gautama XI, 18.

21 Apastamba, II, 5, 10 and 11.

22 VII, 63, दत्तं चैव प्रकुरीत सर्वशास्त्रविचारदं
दृष्टिाकारयेष्टञ्च यविं दत्तं कुलोद्गमं ॥

23 Arthashastra Bk. VI, Ch. 2.

24 Ibid. Vide also Manu, VII, 158.

अनन्तरमरिं विद्यादरिमेविनयेव च

अरेरनन्तरं मित्रं उदासिनं तयोः परं ॥

25 Arthashastra, Bk. VII, Ch. 18.

26 Ibid Bk. VI, Ch. 2.

27 Ibid VII, 18.

28 Ibid VI, 2.

29 Do.

17 R. V. II, 127. 9. "Hence undecaying Agni, (Sacrifices) wait upon thee, like envoys (upon a prince)." Wilson's Trans.

18 नृवन्परार्थं परवान् न दूतो वधमर्हति
Ramayana, Sund. Kand. Sar. 52, Sl. 19.

न्यस्तशस्त्रो गृहीतो वा न दूतो वधमर्हति:
Yuddha Kand. Sar. 25, Sl. 20.

19 Santi, Rajadharma, Sarga 100.

who is capable of giving aid to both contending parties or resisting one of them from invasion.³⁰ A ruler who is between two enemies, powerful enough to give aid to either of them or resist either of them or a *समन्* is neutral (*उदासीन*).³¹ But as the term implies he was *indifferent*—one who was inclined to give help to neither side, and not to involve himself in hostilities. Kautilya says, if a Madhyama king be on good terms with both inimical and friendly states of a king that particular ruler should be friendly with him; otherwise he should ally himself with the enemies.³²

According to Kautilya the divisions³³ of international relations corresponded roughly to his divisions of the rulers. These were:—(1) *विषय* (war), (2) *सन्धि* (peace), (3) *समन्* (neutrality). He says:³⁴ "Whoever is inferior to another shall make peace with him; whoever is superior in power shall wage war; whoever thinks 'no enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy' shall observe neutrality." To these three divisions Kautilya adds three minor ones:³⁵—*संघ* (alliance), *यान* (preparation for fighting), and *द्वैतभाव* (double policy). *यान* is an attitude that may be reasonably expected of Kautilya because the foreign policy he formulates is for an *Imperial State* for the safety of which it was necessary that the dominant state should be ever prepared for war against the other less powerful states which it may have incorporated and which therefore might turn out to be insurgents at any time and raise up a coalition against the mother state. *Dwaitibhava*³⁶ has been defined by him thus: "Whoever thinks that help is necessary to work out an end shall make peace with one and wage war with another." This attitude shows to us how practical as a statesman Kautilya was. It may thus be said that rights and obligations regarding war,

peace, neutrality, alliance and diplomacy, which according to him are to be included in peace, were defined during the time of Kautilya.

The accounts of *foreign travellers* disclose to us the rights and obligations that were actually in existence in times of war. They throw some light on the weapons and army organisations at the time of their visit to India. The *Agni Purana*³⁷ lays down rules regarding war and diplomacy. It gives detailed description of the instruments and methods of warfare. The various qualifications, duties and immunities of ambassadors are clearly set forth in the work. From the other secular works on polity such as *Sukraniti* and *Nitiprakasika* also may be gleaned all the divisions above mentioned—war, peace, neutrality and diplomacy.

From the above account of the divisions of International law we find that war and peace were conditions prevalent throughout. *Alliances* which were made in peace or for purposes of fighting were common even from the time of the *Rig Veda*. This division of international law will be dealt with under war and peace respectively. *Diplomacy* in the sense of the accrediting of envoys from one court to another for political and international purposes is a feature that dates only from the Epic age and most of the later works clearly included this as one of the divisions of foreign relations. As the system of interchange of ambassadors was generally stopped on the eve of two states entering into a state of hostilities with each other, this subject will be properly dealt with in the broader division of peace in which it has to be included. It has been noted how along with the rules of war and peace appear also those of *neutralisation* and *neutrality*, the latter being specially a feature from the age of the Kautilya.

Thus we may proceed with the consideration of the subject under the broad heads, viz:—

1. Rights and obligations in peace, including alliance and diplomacy.
2. Rights and obligations in war.
3. Rights and obligations as regards neutralisation and neutrality.

30 Arthasastra, Bk. VI, Ch. 2.

31 Do.

32 Ibid VII, Ch. 18.

33 Do. VII, 1.

34 VII, See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 303.

35 Do.

36 Do. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 303.

37 E. g., Chapter IV.

SECOND CHILDISHNESS

O, if I could from yonder sky
But pluck the little crescent moon,
I'd gather roses red and white
And weave two pretty garlands soon.

On either horn of the crescent moon
One end of the garlands I would tie,
The other ends I'd hook them on
To the mango branches leaning high.

And lying in the crescent moon
I'd sing, and swing beneath the trees,
And stars on high shall wink and smile
While blows the gentle southern breeze.

And swinging thus, I'd dream and dream
And dreaming, fall into an amber swoon,
And so forget my cares and woes
While swinging in the crescent moon.

ALANGOT BALAKRISHNAN NAMBIAR.

CASTE CONFERENCES *

BY L. JWALA PRASAD, B.A., C. E.

EVERY one knows that, classification of human beings into various occupations is as necessary for their progress as that of material substances for the advancement of material science. Even in countries which pride themselves on the absence of a rigid caste system, there exists a more or less stable division of human beings by virtue of the occupations they follow. The question then arises as to why this rigidity of caste system has arisen in this ancient land of Bharat? Unique things always arise from unique circumstances. India as a country is in many respects different from other countries and Hinduism as a religion is different from others in its spiritual philosophy. According to the tenets of other religions the measure of progress is based on the possibilities of a single span of life and terminates at the death of each person. In the case of Hinduism births and deaths are but stages in human progress and consequently the specialization in the various branches of industry, trade and other professions which in other countries was limited to one span of life leaped beyond the gate of death in the case of our country. This system of specialisation was carried so far

as to ensure the birth, through the practices of eugenics and spiritual invocation, of most specialised souls possessing the evolutionary results of their successive births in bodies specially prepared for them. Just picture this idea of the spiritually economical distribution of professions and compare it with the present caste system and you will feel as to what your caste system once was and to what depths it has now fallen. Not to talk of preparing special bodies for the development of any particular specialisation, we cannot utilise to full advantage the specialities of body which are so far our inheritance. Verily our condition is exactly the same as that of those unworthy sons who cannot even repair the houses inherited from their forefathers but have to live upon the sale of their building materials. Nothing is dearer to any human being than his life or his children and it is significant that even now the members of one community are differentiated from those of another community by having complete freedom of interdining and intermarriage, thus testifying to the great affection and identity of interests between the members of each community. Alas! we find now no traces of real affection and of identity of interests amongst the members of any community which

* Presidential address of the 24th Session of the Vaish Conference held at Etawah on the 23rd, 24th and 25th of December 1917.

would have been the life-spring of those outward symbols. The spiritual portion of Varna Byawastha has now practically vanished from this country, but the physical portion to a considerable extent yet remains, although some of the latter has also been lost or developed by some of the members of other communities through constant practice and will power.

I believe that to inspire true life in the material of the physical bodies of the Vaish community, to utilise it for the benefit of the world and to revive the lost portion as also to create sincere affection, mutual love, intermarriage and complete organised co-operation for the service of mankind is the supreme object of this conference. If this opinion is even partially correct, I must strongly request you all sincerely to take this work in hand and to complete it with your labour of love. The work to be done is really heavy, but however the cowards might lose heart in getting over the lethargy of centuries, the dark prejudices and individual impulses, I do not believe that the enterprising members of my community shall ever desist from this dharmic duty. The silver lining of which I can catch but a glimpse like that of Sumeru hill will enable them to cheerfully get over the dark clouds. If we fail to do this obvious duty the present Varna Byawastha or classification shall disintegrate, shall be replaced by some new classification and all the miseries and troubles which usually accompany such important and deep changes in the social fabric of a country shall have to be borne by us and our children.

Before I further dwell on this subject I wish to say something about an objection that is sometimes raised against caste conferences, which is that such conferences, instead of producing union among different castes, breed mutual friction. In my opinion the foundation of this objection is very shallow and weak, based as it is on human weaknesses, and does not lie in the principles and objects of the caste conferences. Distribution and specialisation of work do not mean separation and hatred but mean mutual affection and complete organisation resulting in maximum effectiveness of society. And the utilisation of existing defective caste material for perfecting the Varna Byawastha, on truly dharmic lines, in preference to letting this material disintegrate and to

creating fresh units of distribution indicates the practical wisdom and common sense of the people. Hence all that is necessary is that the various caste conferences should improve their communities on truly dharmic lines and just as each and every particle of this material earth as well as its largest mountains are attracted towards its centre, in the same way all human beings and communities, while continuously reforming and improving themselves, should consider the true progress of their country and the world as the focus of their activities, and just as in the material world every portion of matter attracts every other portion according to its mass, in the same way every human being and every group of human beings must lovingly co-operate with every other to the extent of its capacity; and the entire strength of society should be fully utilised in improving the moral character (sadachar) and in effecting entire social purity of men and their groups. The customs and usages having no foundation in Dharma and the prejudices separating groups of human beings from one another should be obliterated by the force of mutual love. The progress of large groups of humanity depends on the progress of smaller ones and that of the latter on the progress of individuals. I do not, therefore, see why this problem of social reform which requires considerable exertion should not be attacked from all sides and why all the available existing forces should not be utilised in bringing the social conditions to better perfection.

In order further to strike at the root of this objection I am of opinion that all the caste conferences of India should annually elect delegates for the All India Social Conference who should submit the reports and proceedings of their individual conferences to that general body. The principles on which the mutual relations of the various caste conferences are to be based should be discussed and co-ordinated by the All India Social Conference. The social condition of our country is very pitiable and shall not be rectified without completely organised and mutual work, solid union and frequent heavy individual sacrifices. Without this social regeneration we shall never be happy. If the social condition of the Hindus be reformed according to their religious principles, the solution of the various problems of mutual relations of

various classes in other countries which their statesmen find it very difficult to solve, will, I am sure, be greatly facilitated, and instead of the material struggle for existence and the mutual hatred arising from selfishness, the bright rays of spiritual happiness and mutual social service will remove the darkness of constant existing friction among human beings.

In a way, the object of the conference has been more or less, continually achieved by the year after year speeches, resolutions and by the intermittent service of the office bearers, but it is just like an effort to sweeten the water of the sea by a lump of sugar. So long as this conference does not establish an organisation in which every individual of the community feels direct or representative responsibility and co-operates to the extent of his capacity, no general wave of improvement and reform will rise amongst the members and the conference will fail in achieving its object. Hence it is necessary that some practical measures should be adopted to attract the hearts of the great majority of the Vaish community. Experience shows that the best way to secure the co-operation and confidence of an individual is to love and serve him and this individual experience gives us a clue to the measures that are to be adopted to secure the interest of our brethren.

I shall point out a few such methods later on, but, before I do so, it is necessary to state that the greatest requisites and the most essential principles of social improvement of a community are the interest displayed by the great majority of its constituents, the responsibility of each member direct or by representation, mutual help and co-operation and effective organisation in which every individual is honoured in proportion to the extent of his individual sacrifice and in which all the units are to work partly on the co-operative system and partly on the principles of mutual help based on the original dharmic ideas of joint Hindu family system.

To give any human being a chance to improve himself, the least that is necessary is to give him the key of that treasure of knowledge in which the selfless people of a country have left their valuable experiences for the benefit of the human race. The society is responsible for the sin of absolutely blocking the progress of those children of its units to whom it has not

secured the benefit of reading and writing even in one language, namely their mother tongue, and of limiting the development of the talents of such children to their own direct experience in life. Is it credible that in this Vaish Community which boasts of many millionaires and which is proud of its charities should not have the power or the will to liberate the children of their brethren from this cattle prison of ignorance, although it might mean life-long misery even to some of the daughters of the highest families on account of perforce unsuitable marriages? I do not know how many of these children who are thus shut up in the prison of forced ignorance might have turned into useful and philanthropic members of the community and the society and what incalculable good they might have rendered to the world. If the Vaish conference were to start this work, the question of its organisation will receive considerable strength. I do not of course mean that primary schools should be opened where they are not required but that full advantages should be taken of the existing primary schools by securing the education of every child of the community and where new primary schools may be opened by the Vaish community the children of other communities should also be permitted to profit by them.

After or apart from primary education as may be desirable in each case the children ought to be educated in the various technical trades so that the greatest results may be achieved from the application of their intelligence. This requires capital and organisation. But taking the Vaish community as a whole the total output of its capital will be greatly increased by the technical education of its children. The trading members of the Vaish community can open probationary schools, the manufacturers can keep apprentice students and the zamindars can increase their income by opening agricultural demonstration farms and giving object lessons to the children of their community in the art of agriculture. If you but love the children of the brethren of your community as you love even the children of your menial servants, I think it would not be difficult to raise necessary capital and to achieve effective organisation.

If the intelligent young persons of the Vaish community who are fit for higher

education and have no means to obtain the same go uneducated and we all continue to spend our money on useless or even injurious luxuries, I would ask, if a life of this description is at all worth living. I would suggest that those principles which formed the basis of the grant of scholarships for foreign education by the Vaish Maha Sabha, should, either wholly or in a modified form, also form the basis of the grant of the scholarships to numerous poor students of the community desirous of education in this country. I hope these students will not be so slack in returning the money as the others tried so far. To effect such help, an educational society was opened some years ago at Meerut, a copy of the rules of which was sent by me to that great benefactor of his community, the late Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath. If the Vaish Conference thinks it desirable to arrange for the education of its young members, these rules might be helpful.

There are some useful institutions in the country for Higher Technical Education, where young persons should be sent for education. It is also intended to impart education in trade, industry, agriculture and commerce in the scheme of the Benares Hindu University. There is no reason why the members of the Vaish community should not take special interest in these branches of learning and should not exert themselves in opening and developing these faculties, thus taking their full share and exerting their best in the development of the whole Hindu Nation. The Vaish community will receive a great impulse in its improvement and progress by the opening of such institutions.

I have said before that without Primary Education, every child of man is kept blocked from learning from the experiences of others, but without female education, the development of a child's brain itself is nipped in the bud. The impulses of children are the results of those of their mothers. Hence for the progress of the community, religious education of its girls is the first rung in the ladder of improvement. This progress in female education can be greatly accelerated by the help of energetic and enterprising members of the community, for the education of the girls largely depends on the will of their mothers, and in this country ladies usually mix with the ladies of their own community and have consequently more confi-

dence in institutions of female education started or managed by its members.

But all this progress in education can not be perfected without a healthy condition of the body to spoil which the Vaish community has left practically nothing undone.

The Vaish community considers 18 years in the case of boys and 14 years in the case of girls as suitable marriageable age and this is the high ideal of a piper resolution. You all very well know the ratio between actual practice and the texts of resolutions. A great leader of the Vaish community told me the other day that these were the maximum ages prescribed by the Conference and that if a boy of 16 years of age were betrothed to a girl of 14 years, the marriage ought to take place at once and that the Conference could have no objection to such practice. If such self-deception could but be an actual antidote against the evils of early marriage and the consequent deterioration of the race, it would not have mattered. But alas! the laws of nature do not indulge in human worship. Is it impossible for this conference to pass that, according to the sound principles of our religions, the standard minimum marriageable ages for boys and girls are 25 and 16 respectively? If compliance with the resolutions of the Conference were compulsory for each member of the Vaish community, it would not have mattered to permit marriages at the ages of 18 and 14 as permissible 3rd class marriages.

The subject of child-widows is closely connected with that of early marriage. Those who in order to please themselves think it proper to marry their children at an early age must support child widow remarriage, otherwise they are held responsible for having a hand in causing the various miseries of life from which such widows suffer. If early marriage were not in vogue, the question of the condition of the widows in this country would not have achieved so heart-rending an aspect as it has. Those who consider even the marriage of child-widows improper are in any case bound in duty to give them sufficient religious education so that they may become useful members of the community instead of only adding to its miseries.

In spite of marriages being performed at so early an age complaints are heard that some of the boys lose their Brahma-

charya even before they are married, and many persons put this forward as an argument in favour of early marriage. With great respect and meekness I would ask such worthy gentlemen if they have ever thought what hand their own proclivities and practices had in the formation of such ideas and consequent early spoiling of the character of their boys. How excellent it would have been if parents had all along kept up the ideal of a minimum age of 25 years for Brahmacharya constantly before their mind and would have thus avoided such pitfalls! It is probable that boys kept under such environments would have refused being married before 25 years of age.

But the observance of Brahmacharya does not end with marriage. If the tenets of our religion be properly taught to our children and principles of practice based on them be thoroughly ingrained in their hearts, the physical bodies will remain sound, the race will improve and the aspersion that is usually made that the Hindu intelligence deteriorates after forty shall be removed. Besides their personal supervision, the parents should consult Vaidyas, physicians and doctors with regard to the health of their children before the disease actually shows itself. Would not the doctors, physicians and vaidyas of the Vaish community consider it proper to earn the blessings of God and the love of their fellow-brethren by doing this useful and charitable work in their leisure hours.

So long as marriage and other ceremonies are not completely based on pure religion and divested of all pressure of customs and usages, our poor brethren who need relief most shall not be freed from the temptation to emulate their more wealthy brethren and shall not be rescued from ruinous extravagance.

Before I conclude, I wish to dwell on some necessary attributes of the Vaish community. In all undertakings of the Vaish community, it is absolutely essential that complete veracity in thought, word and deed must be scrupulously observed. The entire transactions of the world depend

upon mutual confidence which can never take root without perfect straightforwardness. Hence the proverb—"The Vaish is famous for his stamp of reliability," for without it no trade is possible. Any out-turn below the fixed standard must never receive the stamp of the factory and the customer must be informed of the true qualities of each material. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to impress upon the nascent minds of the children of the Vaish community the great value of veracity so that it might bloom later on in great business transactions. The second necessary attribute of the members of the Vaish community is the evenness of mind (चेरज) and they should never be subject to anger. In whatsoever peculiar frame of mind the customer might be, the traders must always speak gently and sweetly. Their work entirely rests on mutual love and not on hatred. The intellect is clouded by anger and gross mistakes at such times are committed in business. Consequently the young persons of the Vaish community should be trained to conquer the temptation to anger. The professional activities of the Vaish community depend upon public safety and the implicit following of law and order. They are, therefore, naturally peaceful, law-abiding and loyal. But the existing methods of litigation offer them a grand field for the play of their suppressed tendencies in these directions and many of them fall victim to this temptation. Does this large and mighty Vaish community not contain within its fold a sufficient number of straightforward and reliable gentlemen in whom brother litigants may repose complete confidence and get their cases lovingly and economically settled or are such gentlemen not prepared to take this trouble to save their brothers from wreck and ruin. No, by no means. The fact appears to be that one brother does not know or recognize another and one therefore cannot serve another. All this is due to want of organization. If the savings effected by the obliteration of litigation were utilized in primary education, I think we shall have more funds than we require.

THE FEAST OF YOUTH

BY HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY.

Lo ! over the mountains in the silver-grey,
Enchanted distance, breaks a burning day !
Long clouds of faery-flaming fire
Bloom on the heaven-looming mountain-

tops ;
And everywhere warm, silver fountain drops
Scatter the music of desire !

The old stars dance enkindled with divine,
Ecstatic sparks...The sea is foaming wine.
The moon, a luscious-ripened grape,
O'erfloods the Cup of Youth...The ocean-

shells
Transform themselves for rapture, into bells
For Youth's bright feet of faery shape !

Thrilled by the scented breath of Youth,
the wind
Shapes earth into a rich, creative Mind....
It threshes out the sleeping snow
Into an active dream of joy... The world,
A secret flower, its petals hath uncurled
Like visible hints of godly glow !

O ! I shall draw the blue out of the skies
And offer it like wine of Paradise
To drunken Youth, and pluck the sun
Like a rich fruit to set before his mouth...
To satisfy his hunger and his drouth
After the moment of our Union !

EXPANSION OF VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT AS A REMEDY FOR POLICE INEFFICIENCY

BY A RETIRED EXECUTIVE OFFICER.

STATEMENT A, part I, of the Police Administration Report for 1916 shows the work done by the Police in connection with detection of crime in that year. The results shown there are exactly similar to those shown in the same statement for some preceding years. The cases dealt with by the police are shown under 43 serials. The first 39 serials cover offences under the penal code, and the remaining 4 serials cover nuisance cases (most of which come under section 34 of the Police Act V of 1861) and cases under special and local laws. Nuisance cases require no investigation, the Police constables on duty simply seizing persons found to commit these offences and handing them over to the officer in charge of the thana for sending them up to the Magistrate for trial, and cases under special and local laws are simple in nature and do not require much investigating capacity. Nuisance cases reported in 1916 were 13,159 and cases under special and local laws were 4,188.

True special and local laws cases were 3,872 against 4,450 magistrate's true cases.

2. The penal code offences reported to the police in 1916 were 82,918 out of which 73,079 were returned as true, and this only was the amount of crime among a population of 44,453,180 in the Bengal Presidency, exclusive of the town of Calcutta for which a separate report is submitted by the Police Department.

3. Out of 82,918 penal code offences reported, serial 29 (burglary) accounts for 41,911 cases and serial 34 (theft) accounts for 26,595 cases, *i.e.*, these two items alone cover 68,506 cases or 83 per cent, of the whole, and therefore these cases may be estimated to occupy more than 4-5ths of the time of the police, and this without credit but apparent discredit to the police, and without benefit to the people concerned but with immense troubles and harassment to them. It may be observed incidentally that the main cause of these crimes, which

constitute the vast majority of crimes in Bengal, is the poverty of the people, and therefore the most effective remedy would be the improvement of the material condition of the people. On account of the peculiar nature of these cases, it is impossible to detect them, and this impossibility is shown by the result of police investigation. Knowing all this well, people are not willing to report these cases at the thana, barring of course a few exceptional cases. However, since the enormous increase in the police strength has begun, the police has begun to hunt out these cases and put pressure on the people and so they have begun to report all these cases, whether trivial or serious, and whether they like or dislike police investigation.

4. Burglary cases mostly fall under section 457 I.P.C. 41,911 cases were reported and 40,256 cases are shown as true. Out of the true cases 1,309 cases or 3 per cent only ended in conviction, while 28,947 cases, or 97 per cent could not be detected. Theft cases reported were 26,595 and true cases are shown as 23,484 of which 5,120 or 22 per cent ended in conviction and 18,364 or 78 per cent could not be detected. The most insignificant success in burglary cases if it can be called success, and the small success in theft cases, are mostly due to the ability of the complainant to seize and produce the culprits at the thana, or to give their names; and where the complainant fails in this, police failure follows. Cases in which the complainant seizes or knows the culprit ought generally to go to the magistrate directly. The very large number of burglary and theft cases which supply most of the materials for the high police superstructure throws unnecessarily heavy and wasteful work on the police, both in the amount of investigation work and in the amount of clerical work involved. The amount of clerical work involved may be imagined from the fact that when a complaint is made, the police officer receiving it has to prepare, it is said, five copies of it, viz., one copy for the thana and four copies for submission to different authorities, and when a case is taken up for enquiry, the officer concerned has to prepare, it is said, three copies of his diary. Thus, the work involved, both investigation and clerical, is most tremendous indeed. There can be no doubt that the present state of things must be stopped, and the question is how this can be done.

The best means that suggests itself is the revival of the old village Panchayat, with necessary modifications. The entire police work can certainly not be done by the paid agency alone, however large it may be, and people's participation in this work must be an important factor. Unpaid agency should certainly be employed as far as possible in preference to paid agency. If the village Panchayat be composed of five to nine members, rightly chosen, there is no reason why they should not as a body do better work than the paid agency under existing conditions. Most of the burglary and theft cases are of a trivial nature and the offenders are generally local men, and so, the members of the Panchayat are in a far better position than the police to find out the cases in which detection is possible. Of course, a very large number of cases must, as now, go undetected. So, all the burglary and theft cases should in the first instance be reported to the headman of the village Panchayat who will report every case to the magistrate as the police now does. Cases where detection is desired and possible, the headman with some members will enquire into and submit the final report to the magistrate as is now done by the police, and where police investigation is desirable, the Panchayat will refer the case to the police. Thus, the present unnecessarily heavy burden on the shoulders of the police will largely diminish and they will be in a right position to pay proper attention to the investigation of serious offences which show so very bad results, and at the same time, people would be saved the troubles and harassments involved under the present arrangement. Until the formation of the village Panchayat, the work may be done by the existing Chaukidari union Panchayat on the same principle. Under any circumstances the reporting of every burglary or theft case to the police ought to cease.

5. Serial 18 (grievous hurt) and serial 20 (hurt) show 2,585 cases reported; 2067 cases were investigated and out of these, 893 cases or 43 per cent are shown as "due to mistake of law or fact or declared non-cognizable". 546 cases are shown as "otherwise disposed of", which is not intelligible. Of the 1116 police true cases, in 509 or 45 per cent, there was conviction and 607 cases or 55 per cent could not be detected. The 893 cases

returned as due to mistake of law, &c., were evidently cases of simple hurt under section 323 I.P.C. In cases of hurt, the injured person generally appears at the thana and the police officer receiving the complaint can very well understand whether he should take cognizance or not, and therefore it does not seem creditable to the police to report so many cases as non-cognizable, after the process of investigation only. In hurt cases, the culprits and witnesses being generally known, the high percentage of non-detection of true cases is unintelligible. Hurt cases hardly require local enquiry. Then once police enquiry and next a trial before the magistrate involves great hardship to the parties and their witnesses and great delay in the final disposal of the cases. Then, again, when the police reports a case as non-cognizable, the magistrate passes an order to that effect, and if the aggrieved person still thinks of redress, he has to begin anew with a petition of complaint before the magistrate and his troubles begin afresh; and when he is not satisfied with a police report otherwise unfavourable to him, i.e., when the police reports a case as false or as due to mistake of law or fact and does not send up the accused, he has to move the magistrate and prove his case before him if he still persists in thinking of redress. The result is that in most of such cases, the complainant curses the system of administration and also his own lot, and remains silent. Under the existing law people are not bound to report these cases to the authorities. An injured man may or may not complain at all, and when he has complained he may compound the case. It appears that a good number of these cases go directly to the magistrate, the magistrate's true cases being 938 against 1116 police true cases, and so there is no harm if the cases now reported to the police went up to the magistrate directly. Then, the nature of the hurt cases is such and the connected sections of the penal code are so capable of different applications, that if a police officer is dishonestly inclined, he can turn what is really a hurt case into one of simple hurt and *vice versa*, whatever the final result before the magistrate may be, and considering the features furnished by the above figures, the public cannot be blamed, if they happen to doubt the honesty of the police in connection with hurt cases. However, the ag-

grieved person in exceptional cases might seek the help of the proposed village panchayat who might at once send information to the magistrate and then hold an enquiry and submit a final report, and for the present this might be done by the existing chaukidari union panchayat. This proposal will give great relief to the people and also some relief to the police and will further save the latter from the temptation offered by these cases and from suspicion of misconduct.

6. Serial 38 (criminal or house trespass). These cases mostly come under section 447 I.P.C. 1459 cases were reported. 936 cases are shown as true and 381 or 42 per cent cases resulted in conviction and 555 or 58 per cent could not be detected. 263 cases are shown as "disposed of otherwise". In these cases the culprits are known and no local enquiry is generally necessary. The magistrate's true cases were 4,693 or 83 per cent of the total true cases, and the number of cases reported to the magistrate must have been larger. People are not bound to report these cases to the authorities and these are also compoundable. Thus all these cases ought to go to the magistrate directly. The magistrate may in particular cases order a local enquiry by any person and for particular reasons, cases the proposed village panchayat may take up particularly, and after the enquiry report the result in the usual way to the magistrate, the present chaukidari union panchayat doing the work now. The panchayat being near at hand, they are the best persons to take prompt steps, where this is necessary.

7. Serial 9 (rioting and unlawful assembly) shows 1428 cases reported. 1270 cases were investigated. 550 cases are shown as "due to mistake of law or fact or declared non-cognizable" which is unintelligible: as from their nature these cases ought to be either true or false. 647 cases are shown as true, there being conviction in 433 cases, and 214 cases remaining undetected, which is also not intelligible. Magistrate's true cases were 440 or 43 per cent of the entire true cases. These are cases in which prompt steps are needed for prevention or detection, and these are also cases in which, under existing conditions, it is easy to mix up innocent persons with the guilty and this is done in a good many cases, and it is impossible for the police, even if honestly inclined, and also for the

magistrate, however intelligent and capable he may be, to separate the one from the other. Then the police being generally at a distance from the scene of the occurrence is not in a position to take preventive measures in time. For all these reasons, the proposed village panchayat is the best agency for the work. They are in a position to know timely any likelihood of a breach of the peace and to prevent it, and when a rioting has already taken place, they are the best persons to find out the real offenders, as it is useless to implicate wrong persons before them; and in due course they will send up the case to the magistrate. This will be some relief to the police and will better fulfil the object of the law.

8. Serial 11 (murder) shows 509 cases reported. 38 cases are shown as "due to mistake of law or fact, &c." 439 cases are shown as true. There was conviction in 68 cases or 16 per cent. 372 cases could not be detected. 23 cases are shown as disposed of otherwise, which is not intelligible.

9. Serial 12 (attempt at murder) shows 47 cases reported. 30 cases are shown as true; and 10 cases only ended in conviction.

10. Serial 13 (culpable homicide) shows 294 cases reported. 59 cases are shown as due to mistake of law, &c. 210 cases are shown as true and in 103 cases there was conviction and 107 cases remained undetected.

11. Serial 21 (kidnapping) shows 326 cases reported. 146 cases are shown as due to mistake of law, &c. 151 cases are returned as true. There was conviction in 58 cases or 38 per cent., and in 93 cases or 62 per cent, there was no detection.

12. Serial 25 (dakaiti) shows 592 cases reported. 544 cases are shown as true. There was conviction in 83 cases or 15 per cent., and 461 cases or 85 per cent. could not be detected.

13. Serial 26 (robbery) shows 471 cases reported. 94 cases or 20 per cent. are shown as due to mistake of law, &c. 325 cases are shown as true. 74 cases or 23 per cent. ended in conviction and 251 cases or 77 per cent. could not be detected.

14. Serial 27 (serious mischief) shows 886 cases reported. 756 cases are shown as true. There was conviction in 24 cases only and 732 cases or 97 per cent. went undetected.

15. Serial 28 (mischief by killing &c., animals) shows 655 cases reported. 109 cases are shown as due to mistake of law &c. 527 cases were true. There was conviction in 109 cases, while 418 cases or 79 per cent. could not be detected.

16. Thus, non-detection of serious offences under the principal heads was as follows:—

Offence	True cases	Percentage of nondetection.
Murder	439	84
Attempt at murder	30	66
Culpable homicide	210	50
Grievous hurt & hurt.	1,116	55
Kidnapping	151	62
Dakaiti	544	85
Robbery	325	77
Serious Mischief	756	97
Mischief by killing &c. animals	527	79

17. Excluding nuisance cases under section 34 of Act V of 1861, which as noted above, require no investigation, true police cases under all serials and convictions therein were as follows for five years:—

Year	True cases (column 14)	Cases convicted (column 11)	Percentage of convictions to true cases.
1916	76,955	13,733	18
1915	76,218	14,289	19
1914	60,853	12,123	19
1913	61,967	13,010	21
1912	57,766	9,971	17

18. Statement G of the Police Reports for five years shows the following percentage of detected to true cases of serious nature.

1916	16.6
1915	15.3
1914	19.9
1913	20.1
1912	20.2

19. Statement C of the Police Reports for five years shows value of property stolen and recovered as follows:—

Year	Value of property stolen.	Value of property recovered	Percentage of value of property recovered to value of property stolen
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1916	30,29,659	2,92,578	9.6
1915	30,24,645	2,63,234	8.7
1914	27,42,211	2,75,632	10.05
1913	24,63,940	2,37,091	9.6
1912	22,57,260	2,40,244	10.6

And in 1904 just before the Police strength began to increase on the recommendation of the police commission, the percentage of recovery was Rs. 15.1.

20. The costs of the civil police as

shown in statement D of the Police Reports for five years is as follows :

	Rs.
1916	92,62,793
1915	86,99,769
1914	82,28,634
1913	74,76,456
1912	66,04,552

Thus the cost is increasing every year by lakhs.

21. According to statement D, the following police staff was entertained in 1916.

Superior staff		Approximate annual cost of salaries	
Scale of pay (Vide civil list)		Rs.	
1. Inspector General and Dy. Inspector General	6	1500 to 3000	133,200
2. Superintendent	42	700 to 1200	428,400
3. Asstt. Do.	48	300 to 500	238,800
	96		800,400
4. Dy. Supdt.	23	250 to 500	100,200
			900,600
Subordinate staff.			
1. Inspector	240		
2. Sub-Inspector	1599		
3. Sergeant	43		
4. Head constable	2,283		
5. Constable	16,909		
			21,074

Figures not available.

22. On the whole, statement A, Part I, shows very bad police work so far as detection of crime is concerned ; and this not only for 1916 but this statement A for several preceding years also shows similar features. Statement G of the Police Report (figures reproduced in paragraph 18) and the table in paragraph 16 shows very bad percentage of detection of serious offences. The table in paragraph 17 shows very low percentage of convictions to total true cases. Statement C shows very bad work in connection with recovery of stolen property. The table in paragraph 20 shows the enormous cost of the police and the cost is gradually swelling by lakhs every year. The table in paragraph 21 shows the entertainment of a large police establishment, both European and Indian. The police strength and police stations have been on the increase and this apparently not with reference to the amount of crime to be detected, but with reference to the area of the Districts, as if the whole population were so many criminals always addicted to commission of offences of all kinds,

though in fact there is little crime in proportion to the population. Burglary and theft cases being excluded, the penal code true police cases were only 9,339.

23. The present police department was created by Act V of 1861, and the object was, as the preamble shows, to make the police "an efficient instrument for the prevention and detection of crime." Before the police act came into force, the police work used to be done by the Indian darogas directly under the district officer. There is now no means for comparing their work with the work of the new police, and so it is impossible to say whether the old police was better or the new police is better, but there is the fact that the present day police work is most unsatisfactory, inspite of the police act and of the large police establishment, which has been gradually increased to the present point and of the consequent enormous expenditure of money.

24. The most unsatisfactory features of the police work may, at first sight, be ascribed to the so-called inefficiency of the poor subordinate police, but their work is supervised by highly paid superior European officers and Indian deputy superintendents, and this rectifies the effect of the shortcomings, if any, of the subordinate police. In fact, among the subordinate police, there are a good many able officers, best fitted to do investigation work independently of supervision by and instructions from the officers of the superior staff. The European officers do not know the vernacular and the manners and customs of the people and if some of them may know the vernacular, their knowledge is too limited for purposes of investigation work and so they cannot make good investigation officers. Those who cannot themselves make good investigation officers are certainly not fit to guide and supervise investigation work done by others. We find that when a European officer goes out in connection with a case, he has invariably with him the deputy superintendent, the inspector and the sub-inspector or some of them, in order to help him. Instructions from European officers in investigation work cannot be helpful to the native officer actually employed on investigation and such supervision and instructions rather often hamper the work. The police staff, both European and Indian, might be increased to any extent and yet

under existing conditions, matters would remain the same as now. It is shown above that the time spent in the investigation of burglary and theft cases, which are 83 per cent of the total offences, is rather so much waste; and that in hurt cases, the police is not a very useful agency, nor in respect to criminal trespass and cases of rioting and unlawful assembly, and this for reasons for which they are not responsible. Thus, the police fail not only in the above cases, but also in cases of more serious nature for want of time. In fact, it is not the police but the present system under which they have to work which is responsible for the bad work shown by police statistics.

25. There must be a change in the system, and the people through the village panchayat must have a participation in the police work. If under section 17 of the police Act V of 1861, villagers could be appointed police officers and given police powers, there is no reason why the village panchayat should not be revived and given police powers. If this is done, the police and the panchayat will have concurrent jurisdiction, the latter acting in subordination to the district officer. The panchayat as a body will take up all cases arising within their circle and cases where they fail and some cases for other special

reasons will be sent to the police. In this way the police will be relieved of much of their present useless work and will be in a position to show brilliant results in important cases and other cases which may go to them, the investigation work being done by native agency, and the officers being all "self-contained" men, able to rely on their own personal resources for success. Thus, the police work will be divided between paid agency and unpaid agency and the system will give a right sort of village administration, so far as the police work is concerned, and this work coming in contact with the daily life of the people, the system will be popular.

26. Until the formation of the village panchayat much help may be had from the existing chaukidari union panchayat, if burglary and theft cases are reported to them, instead of to the police and the work is done on the lines suggested above.

27. This arrangement will make possible a large reduction in the present police staff and in the police cost, and will enable the authorities to allow sufficiently attractive pay to the investigating officers, who should be posted at selected central places in the district, and thus it will be possible to reduce the number of police stations instead of increasing them as now.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING IN BOMBAY

AN aspect of the co-operative movement generally unknown to people outside Bombay is the important part it seems destined to play in the solution of the housing problem. The conditions of modern civilization have made it necessary for people in villages to migrate from their native places and to crowd together in cities. In Bombay especially the problem is most pressing and has been rendered all the more so by the activities of the Improvement Trust which while destroying old slums has done nothing to build up new dwellings and has thus increased the density of the population. As the Hon'ble Mr. Orr, the President of the Improvement Trust, himself told the

members of the Bombay Co-operative Housing Association, "the average density of the population of the whole of London is 64 to the acre. Modern economists consider this very heavy and would like to reduce it to 42. They would no doubt like to do the same with Bombay where the average density of the population (67 to the acre) is slightly greater than that of London. They would be horrified to hear that there is in the heart of Bombay an area of 994 acres with a population of 391 to the acre." Co-operation has come in to help in the solution of the problem, thus forming an illustration of what Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki remarked in the course of an article to the Social Service

Quarterly. "A rich man can undertake any enterprise for his benefit with his own resources. But the poor who individually lack such resources need not yet despair. Where one man cannot lift a load, several can by joint effort. That combination is strength was known to the world long before Aesop explained the principle by the parable of the bundle of sticks. Co-operators have attempted to apply it to economic purposes. In co-operation a number of individuals of small means put together their resources for some mutual economic advantage, carrying on the management by common consent and sharing the benefit in an equitable manner."

Setting aside for the time the more important question of the housing of the proletariat, let us see what two or three co-operative bodies are doing for the solution of this question so far as it affects the middle classes.

The Act of 1912 opened the way for other forms of co-operation than that represented by the Credit Society. Only three Co-operative Housing Societies have been formed in Bombay in these five years and only one is in full working order. The first of these Societies is the Mangalorian Garden Homes Society, the object of which is to purchase land near Bombay and to parcel it out into plots, the members building houses individually at their own expense.

The second and perhaps the most ambitious of these Societies is the Bombay Catholic Co-partnership Housing Society. About a year ago a few Roman Catholic gentlemen purchased some land at Santa Cruz, a suburb of Bombay and offered to sell it at cost price to a Co-operative Society if one could be formed in four months. Near this land there was also plenty of other land—Municipal, Government and private—likely to be secured for the Society. So a Society was formed and was registered on March 31st, 1917. Government readily promised to make over to the Society half of their land in the vicinity measuring about 5½ acres.

"The first section of the scheme which has now been put in hand embraced an area of about 17 acres and is intended to include 40 upper-storied cottages, each housing two families, a church, school, co-operative store, Common Hall for the tenants with a central garden and tennis courts, dispensary, dairy and poultry farms,

while land has been reserved for a post office and other public purposes."

In November last the Society commenced six cottages in spite of the abnormal increase in the cost of building materials. It is proposed to complete these about the month of May, 1918. The Society is also step by step taking in hand the construction of other cottages, the school and the other buildings mentioned above. In this way it proposes to construct for the use of its members spacious cottages on payment of a monthly rent varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 34, "inclusive of all taxes, the use of the compound and the benefit of the amenities provided by the Society."

"The Society is planned on the tenant co-partnership system. But to satisfy those who desire to possess houses of their own, it is prepared to let plots of land, fully laid out and connected for water, drainage, &c., on lease for 999 years on terms which ensure bona fide building and not speculation. The principal features of this plan are that the land should be built upon within a minimum period, that houses should be according to plans approved by the Society and that they should be kept in repair and insured. The Society itself undertakes to build cottages for lessees at cost price, to keep them in repair and to rebuild them at the end of their life on payment of a trifling contribution for repairs and sinking fund. The owner is at liberty to sell and keep the profits for himself after five years, but may only sell to a Roman Catholic. On the other hand, in the event of his not finding a buyer, the Society guarantees to purchase the cottage at cost price after ten years.

The third Society, alluded to above as the only one in full working order, is the earliest Housing Society and is known as the Bombay Saraswat Housing Co-operative Society. The success of this Society is mainly due to the ability and earnestness of Rao Bahādur S. S. Talmaki. The capital of this Society is Rs. 1,33,201. It has leased neighbouring plots from the Improvent Trust on which it has built five three-storied houses giving accommodation to 42 families on separate tenements. During the last official year the Society built two more three-storied houses at a cost of Rs. 72,000, to accommodate 24 families at rents varying from Rs. 21 to Rs. 28 per suite.

The propagandist work of "The

Bombay Co-operative Housing Association" requires special mention. Last year working under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir P. D. Pattani greatly helped by the Hon'ble Mr. Orr, it arranged about 11 meetings at which addresses on co-operative housing and allied subjects were delivered by such authorities on the subject as Mr. Mirams, Rao Bahadur Talmaki, Mr. Ewbank and Mr. Orr himself. Only recently it organised a lecture by Sir Vithaldas Thackersay. It is also helping energetically the movement by such means as drafting special representations to Government on the question of State Aid for housing and by examining the schemes of co-operative housing societies and getting them approved by the Registrar.

All this no doubt is only a beginning and is insignificant compared with the vastness of the problem. Yet, the movement is bound to spread and in the direction of its work seems to lie the solution of the housing question. The question is important not only from the economic but also from the sanitary and the social point of view; one cannot expect good citizens to evolve from insufficient and insanitary dwellings. In the advancement of the co-operative movement on proper lines lies the solution of many of the problems forced upon us by modern industrialism and the present condition of society and it behoves every educated man to study the movement closely.

K. S. ABHYANKAR.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

1. **POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA:** by Dr. T. M. Nair. Madras: The Justice Printing Works. 2. **Position of the Native States in the Empire: The Karnatak Office, Bangalore City.** 3. **India's Case:** by Jogini Chatterji. 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

Dr. Nair criticises the memorandum of the "nineteen" and considers it an impracticable scheme. He quotes largely from Lord Islington's, Oxford speech in which he warns Indian reformers against extreme measures, and points to the anarchy in Russia as an object lesson. Personally we think that the Russian people could not have got rid of Tsardom if they had preferred 'gradual and moderate steps' as advocated by Lord Islington and also that the state of things in Russia has been very much misrepresented by interested parties. When the war is over, we are confident that it will be found that in acting as she has done, Russia has been actuated by generous humanitarian motives, and also in the best interests of her own people. As to the reforms suggested by Dr. Nair, if they do not amount to a grant of immediate Home Rule, to which Dr. Nair objects, they are at least a very substantial advance in that direction, and we have little fault to find with his scheme. The memorandum of the 'nineteen' has done the best possible service to the country by focussing attention on what is immediately practicable and necessary, and Dr. Nair's scheme, as well as all other schemes now being formulated, must have derived considerable assistance from it. The Bangalore pamphlet is drawn up in the shape of a memorial to Mr. Montagu, who, by the way, is staying longer in India in bureaucratic surroundings than may be good for

his liberal principles. Mr. Chatterji puts India's case very strongly in terse and well-reasoned language, and his ably written pamphlet amply repays perusal.

4. **STATE EDUCATION IN AMERICA:** by Fritz Kunz, late Principal, Ananda College, Colombo.

This is a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Ceylon Social Service League. There is a prefatory note by Sir P. Arunachalam, Kt., M.A. (Cantab), Chairman of the League. The preface is as deserving of study as the lecture itself. The illiteracy in Ceylon is ten times as great as that in America with a population twenty-four times smaller. Every word of the preface applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to India. The objections raised by the Ceylon Government to mass education have been ably disposed of by Principal Kunz. The pamphlet is neatly printed and deserves to be widely circulated in India.

5. **REFORMS IN INDIA:** by S. K. Lahiri Naba-Sarman.

6. **THE JURY SYSTEM IN MAHARASHTRA:** Dhulia (Bombay) 1917.

This is a reprint of an ably written article in the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha Quarterly, in which it has been proved by authentic evidence that the Jury system is an indigenous institution in Maharashtra.

7. **THE PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES OF EFFICIENCY:** by H. N. Pherwani L. M. E. Karachi, 1918.

This nicely-printed and handsomely bound book of nearly 100 pages is an inspiring *vade mecum* for those who want to live strenuous lives, and desire to accomplish the utmost they are capable of in the minimum of time. It contains some very useful maxims as to how to utilise our talents to the best advantage and save wasted effort. The value of time

and of a well-ordered life is so little understood in India, that the book may be strongly recommended to all our countrymen, whose happy-go-lucky methods and want of organisation in ordering their individual lives are responsible for our national inefficiency.

8. **ESSAYS AND LECTURES :** by *Pramathanath Bose, B.Sc. (Lond.)*, Second Edition, 1917. Newman & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

This neatly printed book of over two hundred pages contains some of the speeches and magazine articles of Mr. P. N. Bose, delivered and written between the years 1880-1917. It is divided into two sections, industrial and sociological. In the industrial lectures, Mr. Bose contends against the views propounded by Mr. Havell and Dr. Coomaraswamy in favour of cottage industries. 'The day of mere manual skill is gone by, and rest assured, will never return.' 'A nation of half-starved clerks and coolies and cultivators will never make any sound progress... substantial progress there will be none until we are in a position to make railways and work mines and mills on a large scale.' Everywhere Mr. Bose cries out against the evils of the caste system 'which has lain like an incubus on the Hindu social structure for so many centuries,' and to it is due that 'divorce of intellect from art and manufacture' which 'is to no small extent responsible for the decadence of our industries.' 'Asiatics have no choice. They must march with the western progress or perish. Japan is the only country in the East which has clearly perceived this, and that has been her saving.' 'The Asiatics must either suffer themselves to be exploited and to be gradually reduced to a condition of extreme poverty, if not of national slavery, or adopt the industrial methods of the West with their concomitant evils which, however, I am happy to say, are never likely to be so serious in the East as they are in the West.' 'The good old times have passed away. We may sigh for them, but they will never return. We must move with the times, or perish.' 'We wish to retain what we have gained from the West. That is false patriotism which would exalt and uphold whatever is national, irrespective of its merits, and deny and discard whatever is foreign.' In his Rectorial address at the Bengal National Council in 1911 he said: "If it [the National Council] succeeds in carrying out its object of incorporating with the best oriental ideals of life and thought, the best assimilable ideals of the West, and in harmonising even imperfectly the ancient ideals of spiritual culture and of plain living and high thinking with the modern ideal of material development, the ancient spirit of renunciation and other-worldliness with the modern spirit of attachment and this-worldliness, it will have accomplished a very important work, not only for India, but I venture to say for the whole world." So far we are all agreed with Mr. Bose. But in 1915, after the war broke out, he developed a 'negative method' of industrial development where he, while admitting that 'a higher standard of living is a necessary concomitant of advance in civilisation', passes a wholesale condemnation against European luxuries, such as socks and stockings, refined sugar and the like, and urges us to accumulate the large capital necessary for industrial development by preventing it from being wasted in foreign 'futilities, inutilities, or superfluities', and by and by drifts into a position where it seems that industrialisation is, in his opinion, hardly desirable at all. This is the view, born of a patriotic despondency, which is con-

tradicted by his own earlier and, in our opinion, sounder views. In social matters also, Mr. Bose, in his 'Illusions of New India' takes his stand definitely with the reactionaries, and these views have been further developed in his pamphlet 'Give the people back their own' which we had occasion to review in a recent number of this magazine.

The second part of the book deals with the origin and history of the Caste System in India, and Hindu civilisation under Moslem rule. The lecture on Caste was delivered at Bristol in 1880, but it still amply repays perusal, for it is a masterly review of the systems from its inception down to its crystallisation in Mahomedan times. The point which Mr. Bose essays to make and succeeds in making, is that caste has hardly ever had a hereditary professional basis. He also draws a luminous picture of the decay of the Hindu intellect and of Hindu civilisation in both these essays, and does not hesitate to give Mahomedans due praise for their numerous good qualities. These essays reveal Mr. Bose as a profound scholar, having a thorough acquaintance with the manifold aspects of Hindu culture and of Indian history. Few Indians can equal Mr. Bose in simplicity, gracefulness and felicity of style and we heartily commend the book to the public.

Q.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SAROJINI NAIDU : Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co, of Madras. Pp. 248. Price—Rupee One.

Messrs. Natesan & Co. have to be congratulated for the publication of this neatly printed volume containing a collection of thirty-nine speeches and writings from the felicitous pen of India's gifted daughter in which matters social, educational, political and literary have all been dealt with in Sarojini's usual beautiful style. A nicely executed picture of the authoress forms the frontispiece of the volume under notice.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA : Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras. Pp. 430+48+vi with an appendix, an index and a portrait of the author. Price—Rupees Three.

This well-bound and well-printed volume containing a collection of thirty speeches and writings of Bengal's greatest orator is sure to be welcomed by Mr. Banerjea's many admirers.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA : Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras. Pp. 496+44+iv with an appendix, an index and a portrait of the author. Price—Rupees Three.

This is a collection of seventeen speeches and writings of Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha who has been a prominent public man of Bombay for a long time. Such books are necessary to all public workers for reference and help as they are the products of mature thinking and long experience.

S.

DRUG MANUFACTURE, WHAT IT MEANS—By F. C. Ghosh, B.Sc. (Manchester), F. C. S., Pharmaceutical Chemist, Government Medical Stores Department. Pp. 30. 1918. Madras. Price 4 as.

In this pamphlet the author very briefly outlines the principles of Drug Manufacture, or "Manu-

facturing Pharmacy," describing the manufacture of tinctures, pills, tablets, and disinfectants. According to the author, here there is "ample room for the development of valuable industries which could well be taken up by educated Indians supported by capitalists." The author concludes by saying that "in all technical subjects there should be close co-operation between universities and factories by allowing University teachers to do factory work and the factory chemists to take up university teaching."

P. C. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A., F.C.S.

MANUAL OF A MYSTIC, BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE PALI AND SINHALESE WORK ENTITLED THE YOGAVACHARA'S MANUAL, by F. L. Woodward, M.A. (Cantab), Principal of Mahinda Buddhist College, Galle, Ceylon, Edited with Introductory Essay, by Mrs. Rhys Davids. London, Published for the Pali Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, E. C. 1916. Pp. xxii+159.

Twenty-two years ago (1896) Prof. Rhys Davids edited in the series of the Pali Text Society a book entitled the 'Yogavachara's Manual of Indian Mysticism as Practised by Buddhists.' The manuscript, the discovery of which is to be credited to the Anagarika H. Dharmapala and from which that edition was prepared, nowhere bore the actual name of the work, and so the Editor himself chose the above name considering its contents. The original is in Pali and Sinhalese, the descriptive passages being in the latter. The book belongs to the eighteenth century and deals with the means and methods of *Jhanas* and *Samadhis* as then practised by the Buddhist *Yogavacharas* or *Yogis* in Ceylon. The term, *Yogavachara*, found several times in the book, literally means 'one who goes down to (the bottom of) Yoga,' i.e., one who deeply practises Yoga. Now the word 'Yoga', as the contents of the work shows, can safely, we think, be taken in the sense conveyed by it as regards the various practices prescribed in the Yoga-shastras or the Yoga system expounded by Patanjali and his followers—although there are in the former many peculiar *Jhanas* or *Samadhis* which are not to be found in the latter. The work in question evidently shows that the Buddhist system of Yoga though essentially identical with the Brahmanical one, was developed differently to a considerable degree. The difficulty of the subject dealt with in the book has indeed been removed to some extent by Mr. Woodward's translation under notice as well as by the introduction by Prof. Rhys Davids to his edition of the text.

On p. 96, note, the name should be corrected as Mr. Rabindranath Tagore instead of Rajendranath Tagore, as printed. *Brahma* or *Brahman* should also be read on the following line and not *Brahma* as printed.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

PALI.

SIMON HEWAVITARNE BEQUEST. *Bhadantacariya Dhammapala Thera's Paramattha Dipani or the Commentary of the Petavatthu of the Khuddaka Nikaya, Suttapitaka*. Edited by Siri Dhammarama Tissa Nayaka Thera, Vidyabandhu Parivena, Kirimetiyana, and Mapalagama Chandajoti Thera, Assistant to the Principal of the Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo, Finally revised by Mahagoda Siri Nanisara Thera, Tripitaka-wagiswaracharya, etc., Principal, Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo. Published by the

Trustees Dr. Charles Alwis Hewavitarne, and Srinath Kumardas Moonesingha, Esq. The Tripitaka Publication Press, Saraswati Hall, Pethah, Colombo (Ceylon). B.E. 2461 by C.E. 1917. Pp. 252.

The late Mr. Simon Alexander Hewavitarne was the third son of Mudaliyar, Don Carolis Hewavitarne Wijayagoonaratna and a younger brother of the Anagarika H. Dharmapala. In 1915 when a riot broke out at Kandy between the Mahomedans and the Buddhists he was unfortunately charged with treason and looting of a shop and found guilty and condemned to penal servitude for life. He was, however, to have been released when he died at the Civil Hospital, Jaffna, at the 40th year of his age. His moral greatness and keen adherence to the Buddhist faith are evident from a bequest left by him by a will executed in 1912 making provision for printing the Pali Texts of the *Atthakathas*, i.e., commentaries and bringing out a neat edition of the Tripitaka. It is to be much regretted that he could not live to see his noble scheme worked out. The duty of carrying out the work now rests on his brother, Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne, and we are really glad to see, judging from the first publication before us, that it has been taken up by an able hand. We learn from the Publisher's Note that eighteen *Atthakathas* and the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa have been undertaken and the printing of some of them has advanced.

In preparing the edition of the book under review, which is in Singhalese character, four MSS. in Ceylon and one procured from Burma and the printed edition by Prof. E. Hardy (1894) in the series of the Pali Text Society, have been used. So far as we have examined it, preferable readings have been put in the body of the text, the other variants being given as footnotes. The printing is accurate and the get-up excellent.

Petavatthu forms a part of this *Khuddakanikaya* in *Suttapitaka* and as its name implies it contains a number of *gathas* believed as sayings of departed souls. Its *Atthakatha* explains the text narrating stories as to its origin, i.e., who where and under what circumstances said it. These stories like those of the *Jatakas* are of great importance in various respects.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES—Edited under the supervision of the Curator of the State Libraries, Baroda, and Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Works in this series can be had at the Central Library, Baroda.

We had occasion to review the first two volumes of this series and now we have received three other volumes and are glad to notice them below.

No. III.

TARKASANGRAHA of Anandajana, Edited with Introduction by T. M. Tripathi, B.A. Pp. xxii+142+16+8. Price—Rs. 2.

This work should not be confounded with the one under the same name by Annambhatta. Here the author, Anandajana, who has been identified by the learned editor in his very informing Introduction with Anandagiri, the well-known commentator of some of the works of Sankaracharya, has critically examined and systematically refuted the system of Vaiseshika

philosophy, and incidentally Naiyayika philosophy, too, in order to establish the principle of *advaita*, 'non-duality,' of Paramatman, other things being mere appearance or manifestation of *ajnana*, 'ignorance' (p. 141). And it has been effected exactly in the same way as has been adopted in the *Khandana-Khadya* by Sriharsha, who, to achieve the same object has thoroughly and mercilessly refuted the system of Naiyayikas. Lovers of Advaita philosophy should read these two works. But it requires a considerable amount of knowledge in Hindu logic to understand it.

No. IV.

PARTHAPARAKRAMA VYAYOGA, of *Paramara Prahladanadeva*, Edited by Chimam D. Dalal, M.A. Pp. 30. Price—As. 6.

The Prahladanadeva was a royal prince of medieval Gujrat. His present work, *Parthaparakrama*, i.e., the Heroism of Partha (Arjuna) is a little drama of a single act styled *Vyayoga* according to the Sanskrit rhetoricians, the subject-matter being the recovering of the cows by Partha with the prince Uttara from the Kauravas as described in the *Virataparvan* of Mahabharata. There is nothing commendable in it. The poet's diction is not good, nor are the words he uses well-chosen. For instance, we may quote, पख (p. 3) 'a house', समीक (p. 7) 'fight', कुम्भकेतु (p. 6) to mean Drona, कुम्भ (p. 5) = महीध = महीधर 'a mountain', etc. There are also grammatical inaccuracies as, जूम्भत् (p. 13) for जूम्भमाण, अनुप्रयियति (p. 7) for अनुप्रयियते. The fourth line of the verse 17 begins with the word दूव, but it should not be so. The second line of the verse 32 does not appear to give the correct reading as regards the word ऊर्जापाचम् which gives no sense, the reading ऊर्जः पाचम् may be suggested here. In the same line कार्योत्सवोऽयं is a faulty reading, or if it is actually the original one, the poet himself has committed a mistake here using it in the sense of कार्य उत्सवोऽयं, in this case संहिता cannot be made. The editor seems not to have carefully examined the readings of the text. In the Prakrita passage in page 6 (Uttara's speech) we expect here to have at least अम्मा if not अम्मा 'mother,' but in noway अम्मा as printed, which means in Prakrita 'mango'; and so पद्ददा if not बहुता, but not पद्ददा as in print. Thus the readings of the MSS. on which the present edition is based are not reliable, or it may be the shortcoming of the poet himself.

No. V.

RASHTRAUDHAVAMSA MAHAKAVYA OF RUDRA-KAVI, Edited by Embar Krishnamacharya, Adhyaksha, Sanskrita Pathasala, Vaital, with an Introduction by C. D. Dalal, M.A. Pp. xxiv + 118 + 5. Price—Re. 1-12.

This is a historical poem containing the history of the Bagulas of Mayuragiri (Mulher) from the originator of the dynasty, Rashtraudha (Rathod), king of

Kanauj to the reign of Narayana Shah, ruler of Mayuragiri and the patron of the author. It was composed under the order of this Narayana Shah in 1596 A.D. It is divided into twenty cantos and follows the general rules laid down regarding a Mahakavya. As regards the merit of the book it will suffice to say, that we, with our friends, in one sitting read a number of cantos and yet did not feel tired nor wished to stop there.

The title of the book appears to be *Rashtrodhya* (राष्ट्रोद्ध) and not *Rashtraudha* (राष्ट्रोद्ध).

VIDHUSHIEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI.

सत् सार्वभौमिक कार्यलयनो उत्पत्ति स्थिति ने भविष्य, written by Bhikshu Akhandanand, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 368. Price—As. 8. (1918).

This book embodies the progressive record of the work done by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literatures in Gujarati. It is called the "Origin, Present State and Future of the Society." The Society owes its existence and progress to the energy of a single man, Bhikshu Akhandanand. The volume is not a mere record of figures and financial assistance. It is an interesting history of a literary institution which has now widely become known all over Gujarat and outside where Gujaratis congregate. It shows the difficulties which the Bhikshu had to surmount in the beginning and it sketches a programme of further utility in the future. The foresight and the single-minded devotion of one man has accomplished a most welcome feat and we trust that the work so well begun would continue in the same admirable way.

SWARGA NI SAMAGRI (स्वर्गनी सामग्री अथवा विचार तेषु वर्त्तन) by Rana Dolatsingh Sisodia, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 55 and 80. Price—As. 8. (1917).

It is a translation of James Allen's *As a Man Thinketh*. There is a very well written biography of James Allen. We wonder whether there is room in Gujarati for two translations of this book.

SWADESH GITAMRIT (स्वदेश गीतामृत), collected by Kantilal Amulakhrai, printed at the Bhagyodaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 76. Paper Cover. Price—As. 4. (1918).

It is a collection of verses, poems and songs in Gujarati concerned with patriotism, and devotion to one's province and love for it. Some well known and some obscure lines find a place in it, but on the whole it is a collection well worth keeping in one's library.

K. M.-J.

We have received three Reports, (1) of the Second Gujarati Kelavani Parishad held at Broach, (2) of the Dadabhai Naoroji Library and Free-Reading Room at Ahmedabad, (3) of the Samast Gujarat Paisa Fund of Ahmedabad. We do not review such reports; and in future they should not be sent to us.

HINDI.

SWARAJYA KI JOGYATA, by Mr. Nandkishore Dwivedi, B.A., and published by the Hindi-Gaurav-Granthmala Office, Hirabagh, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8 vo. pp. 212. Price—Re. 1-4-0.

This is a full Hindi translation of "Towards Home Rule." The book must be considered as a grand production and should have very wide circulation. The rendering is good. However, in some places there are defects of too literal and hasty translation. As for instance, "vah chandrama kai liyai anurodh hai" on p. 142. This we would not call a good translation. We would rather have the sense of a passage, if literal idiomatic rendering cannot be done by a particular writer. In other respects, the book is certainly excellent and will be very opportune. The get-up leaves nothing to be desired and the enterprising publishers are certainly to be congratulated on the immense good they are doing to the cause of the Hindi literature by means of the many popular publications issued by them.

KISHORAVASTHA by *Babu Gopal Narayan Sen Singh, B.A., and published by the Ganga-Pustakamala Office, 36 La Touche Road, Lucknow. Crown 8vo. pp. 97. Price as. 8.*

Such books will be welcome in the hands of young men and they will find them very useful. Many people feel shy of pointing out certain truths to youngsters and children. But experience has shown that this is not always a good safeguard. The book under review is very nicely got-up and will be an excellent manual for those entering into the "slippery paths of youth." We repeat that we cannot but admire the excellent get-up and style of the book.

DAGI-MAL, by *Mr. Basudeva and published by the Manager, Maryada-Pustak-Bhandar, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 107. Price—As. 6.*

We cannot say how far such books are in good taste. We reviewed another book of this series long ago. In this book the author has shown the misery of females who fall into the grip of their husbands who have venereal diseases. The book may have its special use and is a novelty so far as it is an adaptation from Brieux's *Damaged Goods*. Again, the publishers are well-known for their taking up the cause of national prosperity and we may take the book as having much utility at least on that score.

SRIŠHTI-VIGYAN, by *Mr. Atam Ram and published by Messrs. Jaidev & Bros., Karlibagh, Baroda. Demy 8vo. pp. 271. Price—Rs 2.*

This is an elaborate criticism of Darwin's theory of evolution. The author has taken the help of many English books as also of our ancient Sanskrit literature. There are some very apt quotations and the author's reasonings are often very convincing. The book certainly requires perusal. Its theories are more suited to the Indian standpoint than Darwin's theory which must be considered to be antiquated in its way by this time.

GRANTHA-PAIKOHA PART I & II, by *Babu Jugakishore and published by the Jain Ratnakar Office, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 119. Price—as. 4 & 6.*

These are detailed reviews of some well-known Jaina books, and selections from others. "Bhadra-bahu-Sambhita" has been reviewed very satisfactorily. We must say the publications have been quite satisfactory. The get-up is excellent.

1. ŚHIKSHA-KA-ĀDARŚH, 2nd Edition, Price—as. 5.

2. AMRICA-KAI-VIDYARTHI, 3rd Edition, Price—as. 4. By *Swami Satyadeva and published by the Salyagranthamala Office, Prayag.*

We reviewed the first editions of these books. There has been some improvement in the get-up in the editions under review.

SANSKRIT KA SWAYAM-ŚHIKSHAK, PARTS I & 2 by *Shreepad Damodar Satavalaiakar and published by Mr. Rajpal, Manager, Saraswati Ashram, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 367+372. Price Rs. 1-4 each.*

We had books which could prepare the way of those who knew Hindi to a knowledge of English, but there was the lack of a book written on the same lines for Sanskrit students. The author has grasped the practical difficulties of the students and met them very satisfactorily. The book is fit for introduction in Tols, where much time is wasted in old-fashioned ways. An improvement in their system of teaching is necessary and the book will be found very suitable for the purpose.

SHREEMATI ANNIE BESANT, by *Pandit Jadunandan Prasad, B.A., and published by the Onkar Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 122. Price—as. 6.*

This is an excellent life in Hindi of our last President of the Indian National Congress. Many of the foolish theories of them who take pleasure in finding fault with the august lady have been successfully combated. The book gives a true picture of Mrs. Besant and will certainly repay perusal. It is a timely publication.

DAISH-BHAKTI SAI DONO LOK by *Mr. Badri Sah, Pleader, Almorah. Crown 8vo. pp. 29. Price as. 1½.*

The title of the book tells us its subject. The language is rather stiff, but the book is certainly very useful.

SWARAJYA KI PATRATA, by *Pandit Rameshwar Pathak and published by Mr. Gangadhar Hori Khanvalkar, Secretary, Grantha-Prakashak-Samiti, Benares. Crown 8vo. pp. 53. Price—as. 5.*

This is a Hindi translation of the first article in "Towards Home Rule." The original book has made its fame and the publication under review certainly gives some necessary informations required at present. The book requires encouragement. The rendering is correct and the style good.

VAID-BHĀSYA-SAMIKSHA, by *Pandit Santaram, Manager, Mangal Aushadhalaya, Moga (Punjab) and published by him. Crown 8vo. pp. 25. Price—as. 1½.*

The book shews the mistake of interpreting the Vedas in accordance with the meanings given to Sanskrit words these days.

M. S.

TAMIL.

AN ABRIDGED EDITION OF BALA KANDAM OF KAMBA RAMAYANAM (TAMIL), Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary, by *Mr. V.V.S. Aiyer, with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Justice T. V.*

Seshagiri Aiyer. Price Rs. 2-6-0. Cloth bound. Published by Mr. V. V. S. Aiyer, 'Kamba Nilayam, Pondicherry.

It is a pity that the great poet Kamban should be quite unknown outside the Tamil-knowing class in India even though his name is familiar to every Tamil child. In the Tamil country where he is called the "Kavi Chakravartty" and the "Greatest Literary Genius", it is to be regretted that only very few people can be found who have studied his works fully.

There is no religious quarrel now between the Saivas and the Vaishnavas, but still every Tamil scholar of the Pandit class studies only such books as are traditionally suitable to his religious persuasion. In this class the study of Literature is carried on more as a matter of tradition than for the sake of Literature itself. Many Pandits of Saiva persuasion though they might have studied Kamban in their earlier days would scarcely think of enjoying the beauties contained therein in later years. Even the Vaishnavas who very religiously learn by heart their Prabandas hardly think of reading this great poet's works. Apart from these two classes there are fortunately some who either for the sake of love of literature or for the sake of family tradition continue to read and cherish the beauties of Kamban's works. The next class of people who read his works is the modern college students.

In the highest college classes, the students who study the literature of their own mother tongue, do so just like a student of Anatomy studies his subject. Any enthusiasm that they have is wasted in the philological study of the language without paying much attention to the living beauties of the works in it. In this they vie with their English and German masters and they feel greatly satisfied if they can adduce one or two arguments to move the dates of certain works one or two centuries backwards or forwards and thereby prove their erudition. Their whole energy is devoted more to win some recognition from European scholars in comparatively sterile matter of fixing the age of a work than in enjoying

its beauties themselves and in making their kith and kin do the same.

These modern scholars do nothing more than what the old Pandits were doing while they vied with one another in putting impossible interpretations on certain stanzas to prove more their ingenuity than to find out the "Kavi Hridaya." The Modern Tamil School says, "Kamban is doubtless a great poet, but what about his date and the various interpolations." The old Pandit exclaims, "Oh how great is Kamban and how many extraordinary meanings his stanzas bear." Between these two the Literature is going to wreck and ruin nowadays.

My statements here might look somewhat over-coloured but it is none the less true. So much so that Kamban's stanzas are popularly known as Kamba sutrams containing tangled ideas, and the cleverness of the reader depends upon the number of ways he can unriddle them. I must here mention that it is only a popular notion fostered by the intellectual gymnasts and Kamban does not in the least sin in this respect as anybody that reads Mr. V. V. S. Aiyer's Edition of Kamban can easily see.

I need not dwell upon the greatness of Kamban and write a long dissertation on his poetic genius; for to those who do not know the language my arguments will be of no use, and to those who know the language it is better to try and understand the greatness of the work firsthand by going through it than to get it secondhand from a small dissertation.

Mr. Aiyer has tried his best to render Kamban's great work, the Ramayanam, easily understandable. He has rendered a great service in trying to remove the difficulties found in an agglutinative language where the *sandhis* afford a rich ground for all sorts of word-splitting. By introducing the modern signs of punctuation he has made it possible for students to confine their whole attention to the beauties of the work which are usually lost sight of in the struggle for the various ways of separating the words. The Tamil public will greatly appreciate this signal service on the part of Mr. Aiyer.

S. S. Acharya.

THE MUSIC OF LIFE

There is a ceaseless music of the earth,
Tender and deep, for those who have ears to hear,
In mountains lone, and woods, and murmuring trees,
And in the sky at midnight, where the stars,
Chant, without sound, the song of all the spheres.

There is a ceaseless music among men,
Still deeper fraught with unheard melody,
In crowded towns, and peaceful village homes,
Where human hearts are beating with the life,
That fills the whole round world with dance and song.

And, as the lark, in the full morning sun,
Leaves its own rest and mounts on upward wing,
So may we also rise above the clouds,
And hear the spiritual music, silently,
Lost in the light of God's eternal love.

J. E. ANDREWS.

[Written shortly before his death on March 27th 1918 —Ed. M.R.]

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The late Sir Sunderlal.

I am simply surprised that you should write of Sir Sunderlal as a very conspicuous example of plain living and high thinking. What do you mean by high thinking in his case? (1) Perhaps that he took good care to rigidly keep himself aloof from all questions affecting the welfare of his country. (2) You say he was a great lawyer. Yes, he was a great lawyer; for he was a compendium of legal precedents, never daring or attempting to expound the principles of law. (3) He devoted a much greater portion of his very busy life [of money-making] to the cause of education and to other public duties than others who have much less work to do. Is it so really? He did his level best to ruin education in these provinces. As Vice-Chancellor he did his best to injure the cause of education. He did much harm to the students and the public by his retrograde measures. He was ever

ready to thwart all liberal measures. It was because he was so slavishly useful to the powers that be that Sir James Meston complimented him on his "sweet reasonableness"—euphemism for flattery? I dare say he would not have been knighted, had he not been so subservient. He was thrice nominated Vice-Chancellor for betraying the interests of his country. His even character and unfailing courtesy indeed helped him to a large practice. You are pleased to say he was a patriot and a philanthropist. A patriot indeed! He never voted—except on one unimportant occasion—against the official party; on some occasions he cleverly abstained from voting. See the back issues of the *Leader* to know the truth. A patriot forsooth! Such is the man who has been lauded to the skies by so astute and eminent a journalist as Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee! O tempora! O mores! what are we coming to?

A CITIZEN OF ALLAHABAD.

SOME AGRICULTURAL LESSONS OF THE WAR

INCREASED FOOD-PRODUCTION FROM SOIL.

I.

IT seems that the fundamental key note of the international crisis today is the food-problem. Military strategists, practical politicians and statesmen all realise the importance of increasing the production of crops, and their eyes are now beginning to be opened to the true significance of scientific agriculture. Not long ago I read a remark made by an eminent strategist that the recent collapse of the Italian army was largely due to the lack of food supplies, the harvest of the year 1916 having been far below the normal. Thus it becomes clear that all the machinery of war, explosives and great skill in army manoeuvre are of no avail if the food supply is inadequate.

The agricultural preparedness of England began soon after the war broke out. Since the British nation was dependent for its food on the "outside," the agriculture of the country was much neglected. As to what extent the "outside" supplied her with daily food, the illustration of a grocer's shop in London might prove to be

convincing. The results of such neglect have been deplorable.

Since the war broke out, England has been concentrating her attention on rescuing her much neglected agriculture. No time has been lost in mobilizing the farmers of the country with a view to "speed the production of food-crops." But the character of the agricultural organisations was such that quick response from the farming population could not be expected. Government had then to resort to legislation, but mere legislation without effective rural organisations could not have achieved the desired end. As late as 1916, August, a Committee was formed "with the object of reporting on the methods of effecting increased production of food-supplies." Every possible pressure is brought to bear on intensive methods of cultivation; the available sources of manures are zealously guarded, the large areas of waste land are being reclaimed, and the cultivators are supplied with seeds, machinery and necessary artificials. It is reported that "the number of tractors

placed by the food production Department at the disposal of the farmers of England and Wales now approaches two thousands.*" Every day the demand is increasing and the authorities attempt to meet the demand as best as they can.

Selection of pure stock of seeds is vitally important to ensure success in increased production. For the next year's harvest the Board of Agriculture is distributing wheat among the cultivators. To meet the problem of the shortage of seed potatoes, tubers for planting were cut into small sections and placed in boxes for sprouting. Several experiments were conducted with a view to economise the use of seeds.

The noticeable fact in the awakening of Great Britain to promote her agriculture is the willing co-operation of every large landholder. In his estate he has now formed a food-production Society and through suitable agencies he disseminates agricultural knowledge among his tenants and impresses them with the vital importance of increasing the yield of crops. To familiarise the cultivators with advanced scientific farming and to investigate into the local agricultural problems, he has a demonstration farm. Better farm implements are introduced, selection of seed and economy in its use are taught and arrangements are made for the purchase and distribution of manures. The British farmers know the art of agriculture as well as any farmer in the continent; the farm implements employed by them are better constructed than those used by continental cultivators; they can produce the best specimens of breeds of live stock; they are not unfamiliar with the farming methods of the present century; yet in England the production of food from the soil has decreased and her agricultural position is no longer satisfactory. Why this is the case, I have dealt with in a separate article,† but I wish to emphasise here the fact that in the course of the present struggle, England discovered her unstable economic conditions and realised that the negligence on the part of the Government in the matter of food production would lead a whole people to disaster

however prodigious the growth of industry there might be.

I now turn to Germany. She was well prepared to face the food problem that might arise in case of war, for "the chief industry of Germany," Mirabeau said a century ago, "is making war." Her statesmen advocated such an economic policy as would effect steady increase in the productivity of the German soil. Without further comments I take the liberty of quoting the views of Von Bulow as expressed in his book, 'Imperial Germany.'*

I was persuaded that vigorous agriculture is necessary for us from the economic, but, above all, from the national and social points of view. • • •

As in time of war, industry is dependent on the buying power of agriculture, the productive power of agriculture is a vital question for the whole nation. There are parties and groups representing certain economic-interests which demand that the Government shall place a very small duty on agricultural products from abroad, or even let them in duty free, so that the price of comestibles, under the pressure of foreign competition, may be kept low, and thus the industrial workman's expenses of living may be reduced. They want to base all economic policy on an imaginary permanent place.

Until late in the nineteenth century, German economists could not make up their mind as to the nature of the agricultural policy Germany should adopt. But she was determined to assist agriculture and aim at a large increase in food production. It was vitally important in her case, for, as Count Von Schwerin-Lowitz, the president of the German Agricultural Council put it:

"Our position in the heart of Europe surrounded by envious enemies would have been exactly parallel to that of a fortress reduced by hunger, or of a fortress which, in spite of all military power, was certain to be reduced by hunger in the end."

The position of the German agriculturist about 1894 was very unsatisfactory, but the determined effort of German scientists and public spirited men removed the difficulties which faced economic farming, and to-day, based on a better scientific understanding of the laws of nature and on effective co-operation of science and practice, German agriculture may well pride itself on the fact of its great achievement. I am tempted to quote Lord Selborne, the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, Great Britain, who, in a prefatory note to a Parliamentary† report of German agriculture, said:—

* (See "Imperial Germany" by Prince Von Bulow, 1914.)

† Ed. S305.

* Journal of the Board of Agriculture, Great Britain.

† Lessons from British Agriculture. *The Modern Review* 1917.

"If agriculture had made no more progress in Germany than it has in the United Kingdom during the period 1895 to 1915, the German Empire would have been at the end of its food resources long before the end of the second year of the war, and that, as a matter of fact, the war was being fought by it just as much on an agricultural as on a military organisation of the nation."

Let us, now, review the position of German agriculture during war. Germany foresaw that in case of war her enemies would attempt a "tight blockade" and therefore success in the struggle depended largely upon the fact of being able to make the country self-contained with respect to all the essential requisites of life.

Germany consumes a very large quantity of combined nitrogen in her agriculture. In 1913 the consumption amounted to 750,000 tons of Chilean nitrate, 35,000 tons of Norwegian nitrate, 46,000 tons of ammonium sulphate and 30,000 tons of Cyanamide.

Now, the fertility of the soil is, broadly speaking, estimated by the measure of nitrogen it contains. Plants require nitrogen for their nourishment, which they obtain from the nitrogenous constituents of the soil. The soil is supplied with combined nitrogen partly from decaying vegetable matter and partly from the waste products of animals, such as, dung, urine, etc., the rest has to be added either in the shape of oilcakes or in that of chemical manures, especially sodium nitrate and ammonium sulphate. The chief cause of the increased productivity of the German Soil is the increase in the use of artificial manures, and in case of war if the supply were stopped, the production of crops would also be considerably reduced. Therefore in her preparation for war, she made every effort to lay in a large stock of nitrate.

But war was not to end soon and the stock was exhausted within a year. The manner in which the difficulty has been overcome and the danger of Nitrogen-starvation averted is described by Prof. Camille Matignon in the *Revue General des Sciences*. His article* shows quite clearly that Chemistry has saved Germany from a great disaster. Her chemists were at work to find out the methods of synthesising nitric acid, and under Government

stimulus a large number of factories was started within a short time. I draw largely upon the article of Prof. Matignon in making the following extracts.

Soon after the battle of the Marne, the production of artificial nitrates and of ammonium sulphate was much encouraged by the German Government and it subsidized the well-known chemical firms—*The Badische Aniline Company and Bayer & Co.*—to the extent of 30,000,000 marks for the installation of factories to convert ammonia into nitric acid. In peace time 550,000 tons of ammonium sulphate were produced annually in Germany, but the amount was greatly reduced under the war-conditions, the annual output now being about 250,000 tons.

In the meantime, eminent German chemists were at work to find out a solution of the problem of converting the ammonium sulphate into nitric acid. A French chemist, Kuhlmann, had discovered that ammonia is oxidized to nitrogen peroxide when mixed with air and passed over warm, finely divided platinum. The reaction was employed on a commercial scale by a certain chemical firm. The noticeable fact is that by the end of 1915 the *Anhaltische Maschinenbau Society of Berlin* established thirty installations for the purpose of producing nitric acid and these had a capacity of more than 100,000 tons of nitric acid per month. Besides these, the Germans have established a factory where nitric acid is being prepared by the direct oxidation of nitrogen in the electric flame (the process is a modification of that of Birkeland and Eyde) and this has an annual output of 6,000 tons. The third principal method adopted for the preparation of combined nitrogen was the direct synthesis of ammonia. A celebrated German firm has established a factory with an annual output of 30,000 tons of synthetic ammonium sulphate. In April 1914, the company increased its capital in order to raise the output to 130,000 tons, and after the battle of the Marne when the Germans realised that the war was likely to be prolonged, it was subsidized by the German Government to increase the production to 300,000 tons.

Before the war the production of Cyanamide in Germany was comparatively small, but it has increased largely under Government stimulus.

* [See *Nature*, 8th March 1917—For abstraction see *Agricultural Journal of India* XII. 3.]

"In the direction of the manufacture of manures, it was necessary to economize sulphuric acid, so ammonia was neutralized with nitre cake and the resulting mixture of sodium and ammonium sulphates was mixed with superphosphate which was found to absorb gaseous ammonia, and although the calcium acid phosphate is thereby converted into the insoluble tricalcic phosphate, it is formed in an easily assimilable condition, and the product is found by experience to act both as a nitrogen and phosphorus manure."

Then, Germany has enormous quantity of potash salts which greatly benefit the vast tract of light soils of Germany.

Of course the extensive use of artificial manures in Germany has been possible because of her well organised system of scientific education in Agriculture, and with what results let us see.

"In spite of the rapid increase in population from 48 Millions in 1888 and 51 millions in 1895 to 67 millions in 1913, the percentage of the total food supply grown within the country has not altered materially in recent years."

It has been estimated that on each hundred acres of cultivated land in Germany seventy-five persons can be properly fed. But Science alone could not have done all this in so short a time. The most characteristic feature of German agriculture during the last few decades has been the formation of effective agricultural organisations and such suitable agencies as would bring science into the actual practice of the farmer. As an illustration of German efficiency, Lord Northcliffe writes: "German organisation is so careful that if there were only *One* potato left in Germany, each man, woman and child would get a seventy millionth part of it†" That is so. Even during war her agricultural organisations are bringing to cultivation each acre of land which may happen to come within her grasp. The following extracts from the *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1917, would speak for itself.

"The food control in Germany has led Berlin to proceed with the greatest haste toward utilizing the rich farming districts which the fortunes of war have put within her grasp. Hundreds of experts with thousands of agricultural implements have been sent to Roumania, Servia, and Asia Minor. In this latter country two cultural centres in particular have received attention. In the province of Adana cotton-growing is being developed; on the plains of Anatolia the intensive cultivation of grain is in progress. These energetic effectors have had a two-fold result: the Turks will not revolt against Germanic domination because of starvation, if for no other reasons;

and by reason of the increasing yield of Servian, Roumanian, and Turkish lands, more of which are continually being brought into service, the food-supply of the Central Empire becomes more and more completely assured."

Look at Belgium. Here the Huns have destroyed everything under their iron grip, but they have not interfered with the Belgium Peasant's League (The Boerenbond). It is a very powerful agricultural organisation and has contributed much towards the expansion and development of Belgian agriculture. Germans very soon realised how much helpful it would be to guard the interests of agriculture in Belgium. They co-operated, therefore, simultaneously with their occupation of Belgium, with the Boerenbond to increase the productiveness of Belgian agriculture. The substance of the report of the General Secretary of the League for the year 1915 has been given in the *International Review of Agricultural Economics*. The Review says:

"Speaking generally it is true that everything founded by the Boerenbond before the war has survived, and moreover new plans have been realized. Thus, the general secretary's report notes the organization of two new agricultural guilds, one in the province of Antwerp, two in Brabant and one in East Flanders. Means of communication had hardly been reestablished, in the last months of 1914, when the league's inspectors began once more to travel about the country in order to visit the rural associations and to cooperate, in the words of the report, "in reviving social and economic life in the rural districts." They were entrusted at the same time with the additional duty of collecting information and noting the most urgent needs in order to enable a directing committee to organize committees for relief and nourishment everywhere. Further, as soon as it was possible, the Boerenbond, in agreement with some influential personages in the agricultural world, undertook the defense of the interests of tillers of the soil and participated in the formation of an agricultural section of the national committee for relief and nourishment which came into being at the end of December, 1914. Two of its administrators are members of this section and have taken a large part in all its work. The cooperative society, Agricultural Assistance, which aims at buying food for livestock and all supplies indispensable to agriculture, was founded towards the end of February, and a delegate of the Boerenbond is on its administrative council.

Until the Agricultural assistance should be able to maintain agriculture with foodstuffs, manures and primary material of every kind, the Boerenbond itself undertook to fulfil this task and to reduce to the minimum the difficulties which the agricultural world had to meet.

The Boerenbond—or more accurately its counter for sale and purchase—bought in the first place, for the provinces of Antwerp and Brabant, the food for livestock which the German civil administration granted, at the first distribution, to agriculture in these two provinces, and remitted the food to the agricultural sections. Had there been opportunity it

* See Parliamentary Report. Ed. S305.

† World's Work. Sept. 1917.



Polish women are taken as farm labourers in Germany. Our photograph shows them at work in harvesting season.

(Photo by Sj. Rathindranath Tagore.)

would have been equally zealous to render this service to the other provinces. Soon afterwards it took over from the German civil administration a sufficiently important quantity of oilcakes of which it afterwards made grants in accordance with the instructions of the national agricultural section."

The League has taken a leading part in reconstruction work; aiding the peasants with small loans, and advising them as to methods of building. A special feature of this undertaking was the effort made to ensure the construction of more comfortable and more sanitary homes than the rural population has generally heretofore possessed.

"A commission was nominated and it prepared in the two languages, French and Flemish, a small pamphlet, which was specially the work of Messrs. J. Giele, and G. Van den Abele, and is called *Construction de Phabitation rurale et de ses dependances* (*Construction of a Rural Dwelling and its Dependences*). This is a collection, as concise as possible, of explanations and practical advice on the choice and use of materials, dimensions, the distribution of space, niring and ventilation, the means of obtaining good drinking water, of guarding against damp, etc. The pamphlet is written very simply so as to be within the comprehension of all."

The problem of feeding the people was dealt with especially through a branch of the association known as the Farmwives' League. Pamphlets were distributed, and numerous lectures given throughout the country on the economical use of foodstuffs.

"One of the association's most active branches has been indisputably the Central Credit Fund. The year 1915 was one of the most important years it has had since its foundation. Not only was the number of affiliated local funds increased by forty-four, but the savings deposits were more numerous than ever, and hundreds of new small loans were made to cultivators in needy circumstances. Of 821 rural funds existing in Belgium at the end of 1915, 437 were affiliated to the central fund. At this date the number of the latter's subscribed shares was 8987, having increased by 420 since the preceding year. The capital in shares was thus brought up to 8,987,000 francs. The funds circulated in the year amounted to 63,009,921 francs, thus considerably surpassing their ordinary level. Twenty-one new credit accounts were opened for affiliated funds, the total credit thus accorded being for 363,550 francs,

which brought the amount of the credit in force on December 31, 1915, to 4,904,450 francs. The total of the savings deposits was 22,723,841 francs, having increased by 6,202,311 francs since 1914 and by 6,613,469 since 1913, the last normal year. This considerable increase in the amount of savings deposits in the second year of the war is partly explained by the fact that cultivators have had partially to realize their invested capital."

Another great agricultural country that was finally dragged into the horrible mess of the European struggle is the United States of America. The country was at peace and enormous wealth was flowing into her lap through war trade and commerce. She has been for many years the reserve granary of the world; nations in emergency look to her for food. Therefore, when she had to plunge into the arena of world-wide conflict, the problem of increasing farm-production became a war-necessity. The nation looked for guidance primarily to the federal Department of agriculture which made a strong appeal to the farmers of the country. The Government, press, schools and every public agency in the United States are now engaged in campaigning for increased productivity of land.

Thanks to the ingenious character of the national agricultural organisations,—within a short time the farmers of the nation generously responded to the appeals for increased food-production. "Without any kind of delay," says Mr. Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, "on the very day that war

* I take the above extracts and comments from the *American Review of Reviews* in which the report of the Secretary of the League has been noted —author,



German farmer at the plough. Notice the beautiful country road passing through the farm.

(Photo by Sj. Rathindranath Tagore.)

was declared, an army of 6,000,000 farmers was mobilized. Two weeks after America's declaration of war, the Department of Agriculture had organised the farming forces of the entire country for a concerted drive towards greater food-production."

Congress conceived and devised a program of legislation, the essential part of which has now been enacted into law. A vast sum of money has been appropriated to increase the efficiency of the Department of Agriculture. A brief summary of the Act referred to above may be interesting to the readers.

An Agricultural Act providing for the national security and defence, by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, was approved by Congress on 10th August, 1917. The Act authorises the Secretary of Agriculture, with the approval of the President, to ascertain all facts relating to the supply, consumption, cost and prices, manufacture and distribution of all food-materials, fertilisers, seeds, agricultural implements and machinery, and requires that any person interrogated by the Secretary or by one of his agents, on any matter relating thereto, shall within 30 days furnish to the best of his ability the information required, by producing all relevant books and documents in his possession, under penalty of a fine not exceeding \$1,000 or one year's imprisonment.

The Act further authorises the Secretary of Agriculture, in case of any special need for seeds suitable for the production of

food or feed crops, to purchase or contract with persons to grow such seeds, to store them, and to furnish them to farmers for cash, at cost, including the expense of packing and transportation. The President is authorised to direct any agency or organisation of the Government to co-operate with the Secretary of Agriculture in carrying out the purposes of this Act and to co-ordinate their activities so as to avoid any preventable loss or duplication of work. Further, for the purposes of the Act, until June 1918, the following sums of money have been appropriated :—

For the prevention, control and eradication of the diseases and pests of live-stock, enlargement of live-stock production, and the conservation and utilisation of poultry, dairy and other animal products, \$885,000, (i.e. about twenty-seven lacs of Rupees). For procuring, storing and furnishing seeds, \$2,500,000 (that is, more than seventy-five lacs).

For the prevention, control and eradication of insects and plant diseases injurious to agriculture, and the conservation and utilisation of plant products, \$441,000 (that is, thirteen and half lacs).

For increasing food-production and eliminating waste and promoting conservation of food by educational and demonstrational methods, through county, district, and urban agents and others, \$4,348,000 (more than one crore and thirty lacs).

For gathering authoritative information in connection with the demand for, and the production, supply, distribution, and utilization of food, extending and enlarging the market news service, and preventing waste of food in storage, in transit, or held for sale, advice concerning the market movement or distribution of perishable products, etc., \$2,522,000 (that is about seventy-six lacs).

For miscellaneous items, such as special work in crops estimating, aiding agencies in the various States in supplying farm labour; enlarging the informational work of the Department of Agriculture, and printing and distributing emergency leaflets, posters, and other publications requiring quick issue or large editions, \$650,000 (that is about twenty lacs). The degree of success already attained by the farmers in their determined effort to bring about increase in the production of staple crops and live-stock is beyond all

expectations. The* yields in 1917 are as follows :

"3,191,000,000 bushels of corn, 659,797,000 of wheat, 1,580,000,000 of oats, 201,659,000 of barley, 56,000,000 of rye, 16,813,000 of buck wheat, 33,256,000 of rice, 73,380,000 of kafir, 439,686,000 of potatoes, 84,727,000 of sweet potatoes, 15,957,000 of commercial beans, 42,606,000 of peaches, 11,419,000 of pears, 177,733,000 of apples, and 7,621,000, tons of sugar beets."

These figures, in some cases, are in excess of the average crop, and there is every reason to believe that the United States Department of Agriculture will succeed in doubling the present yield of staple crops. She is following the footsteps of Germany with regard to the use of Nitrogen, and it has been calculated that if she apply Nitrogen upon the German scale to American Soil, (equivalent to about 10,000,000 tons of Chilean Saltpetre yearly) the value of the total crops would be increased to \$1,000,000,000, that is, more than three hundred crores of Rupees. Factories are being established to ensure supply of Nitrogen, and potash for which America had to depend on Germany is now being manufactured in the country. In California, Searles Lake covering 25,000 acres, according to official record, will yield ample supply of potash. In 1916 the total output was 36,000 tons.

While her manufacturing chemists are at work to investigate into the available sources of artificial manures without which intensive agriculture cannot be carried on, the Department of Agriculture is taking every precaution so that there may be no serious drain on the fertility of the soil through "high-pressure farming." The farmers are encouraged to increase the number of live-stock and to practise strict economy in the care and use of farmyard manure.

This is, then, the brief account of the organised efforts of three of the most prominent nations of the world to increase productivity of their soils. Are there no lesson which the Government and the people of India may derive from this campaign of increased food-production? Or is the yield of cereal crops of India destined to average eleven bushels only to the acre and not more?

The lessons to be learnt from the present agitation among the foremost nations of the world for producing "more food" are many. The war has taught us that no



nation can afford to neglect her peasantry and indigenous agriculture. The secret of national strength lies in effective agricultural organisations. If a high standard of intelligent cultivation is to be attained it is the foremost duty of the State to pursue a well-organised agricultural policy; the State must educate the cultivator and offer him encouragement to utilize his knowledge in actual practice; the state must protect him against the usurer and furnish him with organised credit.

If England had pursued such a policy she would have had no anxiety to-day for her food supply. The resources of the Empire are vast and the agricultural condition of India leaves room for ample improvement. No service is of greater importance to this country at present than the attempt to improve her agriculture. Rural life in India shows symptoms of decay and ruin, and before that evil assumes a gigantic form, let the Government and the people take steps to avert the impending danger, for, as an Irishman remarked, *the best way to prevent what has happened is to stop it before it begins.*

NAGENDRANATH GANGULEE.

* Science, Vol. XLVI, No. 1199.

MR. D. G. PHALKE AND HIS 'HINDUSTHAN CINEMA FILMS'

By S. B. ARTE, M.A.

MR. Phalke belongs to that small band of men in India (alas so very small!) who dare leave the beaten track of rotting on a miserable pittance of a minor clerkship and strike out a line for themselves by establishing new industries and venturing into the uncharted seas of commercial exploration. Instead of giving long lectures on how India should develop her industries he has bared his arms and

and draw spontaneous bursts of admiration from cine-goers. Not a small feat this for any one who has to establish a pioneer industry in India with limited funds and without the splendid appurtenances and accessories that modern up-to-date, built to order, palatial studios embody and which are at the disposal of American and European picture-play producers. See what 'The Bioscope,' a journal devoted to the cinema trade exclusively, writes about two of his films in one of its issues:

These two films, which are entitled respectively 'Bhasmasur-Mohini' and 'Savitri' are both adaptations from well-known Indian legends, and each is characterised by the simple charm of conception, the *milieu* natural humour and the poetical imagination which mark so strongly most of the literature of that wonderful country. The pictures are full of beauty and interest merely as stories, and the fact that they have been acted by native players amidst natural surroundings lends the productions an additional and unique charm. In fact, as intimate and vivid studies of Indian life and thought, the films have no match." (The Bioscope, Oct. 29th, 1914).

Such praise from a technical journal is praise indeed!

There are great possibilities for picture-play production trade in India and Mr. Phalke hopes to develop it with all his splendid faculties. The number of cinema theatres and their patrons is steadily increasing in India and up to now all the picture-plays come from the studios of Europe and America. These picture-plays though they are splendid and exciting deal with the home life, manners and customs of aliens—of races about whose every-day life the Indian audience has very little information, and whom it classes under the nondescript name of 'Sab-log.' Or they deal with intricate plots of adventure and romance which it is very difficult for the average illiterate Indian to follow on account of the explanations of incidents being in English. Such cinema serials as 'The Million Dollar Mystery,' 'The Perils of Pauline' or 'The Clutching Hand' cannot be fully understood by those not knowing English. The scientific appliances made use of in the



Mr. D. G. Phalke.

set his shoulders to carve out his fortune from one of the latest industries—that of picture play production. However Phalke has not an easy time of it—not a bit. As the first cinema-film manufacturer in India he has to contend against great odds but he is not the least bit daunted by it. He has great faith in himself and on his power to make the world yield him his fortune out of picture play production. And it seems that his faith is justified by the results of his untiring activity up to now. He has produced over twenty first class plays which stand comparison with similar productions of Europe and America

Craig Kennedy serials are beyond their comprehension. But if picture-plays are put before audiences in India composed of any class, literate or illiterate, which deal with life as lived by their fellow-brethren would there be a question which would appeal more to their tastes? And in addition if picture-plays are exhibited which incorporate the legendary lore of India, the story of Harishchandra,



Transformation scene in the photo-play of Savitri-Satyavana: While the body of Savitri is crying over the death of her husband, her spirit follows Death supplicating and begging to restore her husband to life.

of Mohini-Bhasmasura, of Satyavana-Savitri, would there be a question whether these picture-plays would draw audiences in India—where these stories from the Puranas are familiar to all and are recited throughout its length and breadth? Such films are now being put on the screen in Bombay by Mr. Phalke and there is no question of their popularity. The Bombay theatres are packed to the full whenever these films form the chief item of their programmes. They always prove a magnet to draw huge crowds to the theatre doors.

Phalke's first film 'Harishchandra' deals with the well-known beautiful story of the severe test to which Harishchandra was put by the sage Vishwamitra.

This story of the film delineates very well the vindictive character of the sage Vishwamitra as given in the Puranas and the Vishwamitra of the film is always in bad graces with the Indian audience at his unmeaning persecution of the king. As the scenes are thrown on the screen before the audience it is moved to anger against



Harishchandra leaving his palace with his wife and son at the behest of the sage Vishwamitra.

Vishwamitra. No greater praise for Phalke's development of the plot could be given. He has of course depicted this character as portrayed in the Puranas. The Puranas mention the enmity between Vasistha and Vishwamitra and how the latter seized every opportunity to ruin Vasistha. Harishchandra was but a disciple of Vasistha.

That this story should be produced by an Indian and the theme should be so ably and fascinatingly handled is very remarkable. The 'Indu-Prakash' wrote at the time:

"Mr. Phalke has shown the true artist's eye in the selection of the scenes and the getting up of the dramatic combination."

Large number of people thronged the theatre every night when this film was first exhibited in April 1913 at the Bombay cinema theatres. This film achieved instant popularity and ran for nearly two months—a record achieved by no other single film in Bombay. Wrote 'The Briton,' an Anglo-Indian journal about this film:

"The Alexandra had a bumper house last night. I doubt that this well-known theatre has ever had so many people between its walls since its opening as it had last evening..... Every night during the past week, four extra shows were given during the week in every case to a full house..... The three houses last night were packed to the very doors."

The "Times of India" said:

"Already it has had an uncommonly long run to large and often crowded houses."

And "The Bombay Chronicle":

"On Saturdays and Sundays bumper houses witnessed the programme."

This film has brought in to Mr. Phalke more than Rs. 70,000 as revenue up to now and still more demands for the hire of this film are pouring in from all parts of India which he is unable to meet all at once. Whenever his films have been exhibited the receipts at the box-office have always averaged Rs. 800-900. His 'Hindusthan Cinema Films' have been exhibited at Colombo, Goa, Bhavnagar, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Indore, Baroda, Gwalior, Amritsar, Jamkhindi, Poona, Oundh, Surat, Solapur and very many other places. Several film-hiring agencies are ready to pay from Rs. 12,000 to 60,000, as rent per year for a single film of Phalke's. In Bombay these films have been exhibited more than a thousand times. His new film, the 'Burning of Lanka', is running at the "West-End Cinema" in Bombay and the public are loud in their appreciation. The story of the burning of Lanka by Hanuman is cleverly put on the screen and this film has entailed heavy expenses on Mr. Phalke in its production. In order to put this scene on the screen actual houses had to be erected to order and burnt and this alone cost a pretty sum. A whole staff of builders, masons, artists, were busy for several months carrying Phalke's behests into execution. The work of the man who played the roll of the Monkey-God Hanuman in this film is



Hanuman passing through sky during his leap over the Sea.

so realistic, that as he was performing his part in the scenes in a jungle at Nasik before the camera, he had to be rescued from the attacks of several monkeys who infested the jungle and who took him for one of themselves.

This film, like Phalke's previous films, has already become immensely popular with the cine-goers. The West End Cinema had to give seven demonstrations a day and still crowds were to be found clamouring for admittance. I hear it said that the management of the West-End Cinema must have cleared between 12,000 to 15,000 during the week. In Poona eight demonstrations had to be given every night to full houses but still the demand could not be met. At last the next day Mr. Exhibitor screened the film at half past eight in the morning—a veritable *matinée* programme indeed!

Both the Bombay and the Poona exhibitors marked their appreciation of Phalke's wonderful mastery of the difficult art of cinematography as shown in 'Lanka Aflame' by presenting him with gold medals.

Mr. Phalke shows the true artistic gift in the development of the stories he abstracts from the Puranas. It requires more than the average imagination to ransack our Puranas for film-plots as the way he seizes the possibilities of the different stories of the Puranas will show. The art of arranging a picture drama for the cinema is a difficult art and not many succeed in it. The story of a picture drama humorous or dramatic must be very clear and easily followed. A simple line of progressive action through a series of scenes must be maintained until the climax is reached, each scene having a definite connection with the story. The story must run connectedly from the first picture to the last so that the man watching is never puzzled for an instant by a meaningless action. Any one who has seen Phalke's first film 'Harischandra' will know how remarkably well the story of the film holds together and what dramatic situations are put in.

Mr. Phalke has had a remarkable career and that more than anything else explains his success as the first Indian picture-play producer. In 1886 he passed his examination in drawing from the Kalabhavan at Baroda. Then he turned his attention to painting and as a scenic artist did some scenes for use in theatres. At this time he gathered inside knowledge about the actor's profession, grasped the art of acting and learned stage-craft which he now turns to such valuable account in the settings of his scenarios. From 1890 photo-

graphy attracted his attention and he soon became an expert photographer. But he soon wandered off to fresh fields and pastures new and mastered photo mechanical process, half-tone, photo-litho, collotype, photo-gravure and the three-colour processes. With this equipment he started an art press in which anything in the way of fine printing, engraving and illustration in colours or in monochrome was executed. He conducted this business with great success. For his work in this line he has received many medals and the London and New York technical papers have spoken in warm terms of the work turned out by his press. Thus Mr. Phalke brings to bear on the cinema-film industry all the qualifications and ripe experience requisite in a pioneer, obtained in a varied career. And thus he has been enabled to cope single-handed with the production of a picture-play from developing the negative to putting it on the market and issuing posters and booklets about it.

There are great possibilities hidden in these picture-plays of the Puranas. As a



The make-up of a Cinema Scene by the "Hindusthan Cinema Films."

populariser the cinematograph is hard to beat and thus through this instrument the beautiful legends of our Puranas may be scattered all over the world. These picture-plays may serve to make the East known more widely in the West and thus help to bring about the rapprochement between the two.

GLEANINGS

Cities While you Wait.

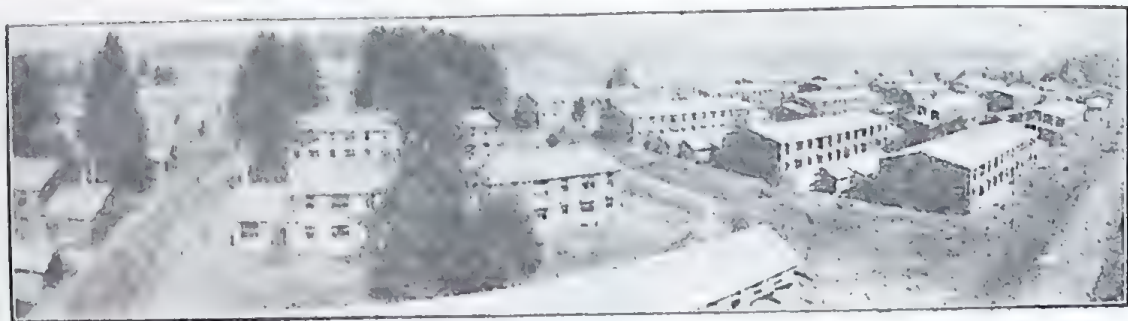
"Rome was not built in a day." That is where the American new "emergency cities," to house her National Army, have the advantage over the so-called "Imperial City." They may not be quite so solid as ancient Rome, or so imposing architecturally, but they are probably more sanitary, and there were no public libraries or Y. M. C. A. huts in the older municipality. And the inhabitants with their modern implements of war could doubtless wipe the earth, on short notice, with the legions of Pompey or Cæsar. The rapid construction of these sixteen cities has been something to marvel at. It has meant not only building houses for 35,000 to 45,000 men to live in, but the instalment of water-supply and sewerage systems, electric wiring and power, with governing organization, police, and transportation. The solution was found in standardization. Every stick and board, every type of building, every ventilator and window-sash was turned out to the same measurements. Add the enormous driving-

power of modern engineering, working under contract, and the remarkable cooperation of the railroads, and forces were generated equal to surmounting all obstacles.

Several of the camps were completed in sixty days, and all of them within three months from the beginning of operations.

"From 5,000 to 10,000 workmen were employed in the creation of each of these emergency cities, and each cantonment contractor handled about 5,000 carloads of material. For each camp there were required on the average 25,000,000 feet of lumber, 1,700,000 square feet of wall board, 37,000 window sashes, 32,000 square feet of prepared roofing, 37,000 square feet of wire screen, 6,500 solid board doors, and nearly 2,700 kegs of nails. For the water-supply 85,000 feet of pipe, ranging in diameter from one to twelve inches, had to be secured and laid, for the sewers over 100,000 feet of pipe of various sizes.

"The water-supply and sewerage of each of these cantonments were carefully studied by well-known engineers, and every precaution has been taken to



A CITY FOR 48,000 SOLDIERS—BUILT IN JUST EIGHT WEEKS

This typical national army cantonment at Camp Lewis, American Lake, Washington, consists of 1,400 buildings, and cost \$5,000,000.

secure a safe water-supply and to dispose of the sewage in such a way as to eliminate entirely all dangers or nuisance therefrom as would be the case with a permanent city of the highest type. In most cases the water is obtained by wells driven especially for the purpose; while vitrified pipe sewers are laid throughout the camps, and the sewage is treated by septic tanks, sprinkling filters, intermittent filters, or other of the most modern sewage-treatment methods, or else discharged at a distance from the camp into flowing streams where this is possible without creating nuisance. . . .

"The camp-sites were chosen with a view to natural drainage, many of them having sandy or gravelly soil into which the rain-water will soak quickly, and this also will, of course, be of great assistance in maintaining the men in good, healthy condition. With the reputation which American Army officers have already made for improving the sanitary conditions of camps and cities in Cuba and Panama, there is no room for doubt that the camps will be maintained in the most sanitary conditions possible, and there is every reason to believe that the men will really be maintained in a better physical condition than they would have been in their own homes.

"The average number of buildings to a camp is 1,200. They include, besides the barracks, kitchens, shower-bath, and sanitary units, hospital and administration offices, laundries, commissary stores, motion-picture theaters, etc. Every regiment has its assembly-hall, where writing material, books, and other reading matter are provided. Here also educational classes under competent instructors are conducted, and entertainments such as lectures and motion-pictures given. In the great division auditorium, entertainment is offered on a larger scale. A number of the best-known theatrical managers in the country have arranged to add the soldier cities to their circuits and will present the type of plays best suited to such unusual audiences. Clean sport of all kinds will be fostered, the outdoor games being under the supervision of men prominent in athletic affairs.

"Roughly speaking, the main plan of each cantonment is an immense U, with the commander-in-chief's headquarters at a central point whence he can survey the entire camp. . . . In the middle of the U is a parade-ground for close-order drilling, and in the immediate vicinity are rifle, machine-gun, and field-artillery ranges, with terrane for extended-order drilling, trenching, and the other modern aspects of warfare.

"The regular Army type of barrack has but one story, and that type was originally adopted for the

National Army cantonments. The necessity of economy in space and cost, together with the increase in men to the company, occasioned a change. The barracks for all the larger units have two stories. A standard house for an infantry company is 120 feet long by 43 feet wide. A large hall, which the men can use as a lounging-room, divides it in the middle of the ground floor. At one end is the mess-hall with kitchen in an extension. At the other end are dormitories. The entire second floor is taken up with sleeping quarters. Every man has his own iron cot and locker. Ample hot and cold-water baths are provided in outside lavatories. The barracks are electrically lighted, and in the cold months will be heated by steam or stoves, depending on their location in the Northern or Southern States. Regimental hospitals are complete in themselves, but their work will be supplemented by the great division hospitals, which have a capacity of at least one thousand cases.

"The work involved in the construction of each cantonment was, of course, not confined to the area covered by it. In most cases new railroad spurs had to be built, heavy rails substituted for the lighter ones in use in existing tracks, sidings built in the vicinity, highways built or improved to provide for trucking, and every possible provision made for handling the enormous amounts of materials without loss of time.

"It is worthy of note that the cantonments have in all instances been built on waste land, land that had not in any way been devoted to agriculture or the raising of crops. The cantonments have cost from \$5,000,000. to \$7,000,000 each, and not far from \$100,000,000 altogether."—*The Literary Digest*.

Darkness—the New Anesthetic.

Remember, in the old days when mother had a headache, how she used to go into her room and pull down all the shades? There was a scientific foundation for that action, according to Dr. William H. Bates of New York. Darkness, under certain conditions, may be a real anesthetic: a patient may, in other words, reduce the keenness of his pain by resolutely "thinking Black."

Let one who would seek relief by this method first of all close his eyes and press his palms over them, so to exclude all light. Then let him concentrate his mind on the thought of darkness: he may before closing his eyes, if he cares to, gaze steadily at a black fountain pen or his black shoes—the thing is, to fix the thought of total blackness so firmly in the mind that it excludes all other thoughts.

Dr. Bates has applied this treatment in the relief of neuralgic pains: under the anesthesia induced by it, he has seen teeth extracted and minor surgical operations performed. He believes that a wounded soldier

Spoil the Rod and Spare the Child.

Even the committees and boards of education are learning that education is more play than it is work.



lying in No Man's Land could, by its use, shut out the horrors about him, and by concentrating on the thought of blackness obtain some nervous let-down and some relief from pain.

It costs nothing, and it's worth trying, anyway. With your next hard headache, or your fit of nervous tiredness, close your eyes, press your palms across them, and "remember black."

A Class-room for boys in a Gary School.

—Every Week.

In the Gary schools boys and girls learn to want to learn before they get the chance to do it. The girls in the sewing classes don't spend their days doing hems by the mile. They make dusting caps and hug-me-tights and slip-ons that they can take home to their proud mothers and fathers.

And when she has finished her stitching, our heroine can play squat tag in a back yard plenty large enough now because under the new system the children use it in turns.

Why not introduce this convenience into some of the large downtown offices? You can stand even arithmetic when you can wash it away after each class. As only one sixth of the children are outdoors at a time, the playgrounds are never congested. And when a boy flunks, he doesn't stay after school; he gives up his gymnasium or his auditorium work, and enters an extra class in the difficult subject.

You used to begin school singing a robin song or reciting a memory gem, and end it with a half hour's tough cramming. Now, in the new Bronx Gary schools, you often start the day acting a scene from the French Revolution—which isn't at all like learning some dates about it. And you end the day reading what you want in the library. The children may talk in all classes except the 3 Rs.

The Gary system knows that the ordinary child is a chattering bundle of twist and squirm and wriggle. He must not be too rigidly suppressed. In the natural science classes the children bring their own animals to school—even Mary's lamb would be welcome. And when one boy sneaked into school one morning after playing hockey all the day before, the teacher didn't stick him in the corner. She said: "We'll all do it to-morrow." Next day the whole class rode out to a stream—and learned how tadpoles turn into frogs.



A Machine class in a Gary School.



A Class-room for girls in a Gary School.

Bob wanted to be a machinist—and he wasn't going to waste his life over the third reader. But he consented to try out one of the Gary schools in upper New York, entering the machine class. But he discovered that he could not be a machinist unless he learned about patterns, and so he entered the class in technical drawing. Then he found he had to learn enough English to demonstrate his theories. By the time he is twenty-one he will have gone through enough courses to qualify him for the presidency.

They print their own books in the Gary schools. One volume of verse all written by the children was got together and put through their own presses. Some of the schools have their own weekly papers, too. The plan is not to teach trades directly, but to let each child try many trades until he finds the one for which he is especially adapted. Soon we shall hear papa say to little Willy: "If you're not a good boy to-day I'll keep you home from your Gary school."—*Every Week*.

A Bookshop for Boys and Girls.

It was Rousseau who said: "Childhood has its own ways of thinking, seeing and feeling." In synthesis, this is the slogan of the most successful experiments in education, and it is the underlying idea of the Bookshop for Boys and Girls, opened by the Woman's Industrial Union of Boston. A few years ago Miss Bertha E. Mahoney undertook for the Union a special study of children in connection with their presentation of juvenile plays. The result of

her study was the suggestion that a bookshop for the children be opened, inasmuch as the opportunity to read good books meant infinitely more culturally to the child than the opportunity to see plays.

The response to Miss Mahoney's suggestions was immediate, and in October, 1916, the shop was opened under her direction, on Boylston street, in a long, well-lighted room overlooking the Public Gardens. The shop has the air of a comfortable living-room rather than that of a place where books are sold. Sunshine streams in at the windows. Low bookcases, specially fitted tables and shelves, bright pictures, bits of tapestry, cheerful hangings and growing geraniums and ivies give it a home-like and inviting atmosphere. At one end is a small mahogany chest filled with Mother Goose stories and fairy tales for the "littlest folks" to examine at their leisure. On the mantel over the fire-place is "Alice Heidi," the Bookshop Doll, who presides over juvenile councils.



Printing Class in a Gary School.

Miss Mahoney says in an article in the *Publishers' Weekly* that the Bookshop exists not simply to sell good books to children, but to increase their love for books. The members of the Industrial Union believe that good books are so important as to be an essential part of life. Also they wish to get the idea of bookshops for children before the public in order that like service may be rendered children in other communities.

One aspect of the Bookshop in particular must not be overlooked. It serves as a kind of club for



A GLIMPSE OF THE CHILDREN'S BOOKSHOP

("Alice Heidi," the bookshop doll, may be seen on the mantel over the fireplace.)

growing boys and girls. They may wander about at will and read quietly at the long tables. They may exercise their own judgment in regard to books, compare, criticize, and get ideas of the range of various groups. A series of story hours with expert story-tellers is given for little children from time to time and is attended regularly by the same group of children.

Art exhibitions are frequently held in the Bookshop. One of these exhibitions was of the work of women sculptors whose work has a particular appeal to children.

'What makes work in the Bookshop for Boys and Girls so thrilling is that we feel we are working with something worth while. We take the greatest pleasure in helping those who are interested to find books written by persons of vision. This doesn't mean "high-brow books" and it doesn't mean exceptional children. We've found some very average children with unspoiled reading taste, who just naturally like history. One day when I was in the Children's Room at the Boston Public Library, two boys came to the desk and one said, "Miss Jordan, have you a book on the 'rignation of man?" These two boys had for several years been reading history almost entirely. And last summer they started to write a history of the world for 2,000 years. One was writing the ancient, the other the modern part, and the latter hoped to bring it down to President Wilson's administration and to get in something about the war. They "thought it would make a book of a thousand pages." Along toward September the huge size of their task began to dawn upon them—well, their

history has not yet gone to press. Another pleasant feature of this story is that these boys were American boys—very average ones.'

—*American Review of Reviews.*

Luminous Paint in War.

Articles of various kinds, coated with a "luminous paint" made of radium and zinc sulfid, are being turned out in quantity by an English firm for use in the Army and Navy. Zinc sulfid has long been known for its ability to "store" light. Exposure to sunlight will cause it to glow feebly for some time in the dark. By mingling with it an almost infinitesimal quantity of radium, the exciting function of the sunlight is rendered unnecessary and the glow is rendered practically permanent.

"Over 100,000 marching compasses are in daily use by the Allied armies, each fitted with a luminous radium dial readable at any time, even on the darkest night. Aeroplanes skim along through the night, the aviators guided by radium-bedaied compasses.

"At sea, the doughty little 'sub' destroyers shoot hither and thither with never a light to be seen—the radium-lighted compass-dial answers the question. The man using it can see the dial all the time, but you can not.

"Fig. 1 illustrates a clever use for 'luminous-paint' collars. These linen tabs present a luminous surface of ten square inches, and are for attachment to the back of the tunic, so that when the first line of men go over the top, they will not be mistaken for enemies in the dark by the second line of men who follow.



Radium paint in use at the Front.

enough for men to march four abreast up one side of the tape and returning the other side, say, in all, about twelve feet wide. Where this is not possible the tape-layer makes a break in the tape every few yards, and starts again continuously when the path is wider. Any obstacle in the way, such as a tree or post, could have a small length of tape tied around it (see Fig. 3).

"Should a ditch come across the path he would lay short pieces of the tape at right angles on either side of the ditch. In case of the ditch being over four feet deep, the man should have a luminous beacon with him and write on it the depth of the ditch, also the width, with a special pencil, and place it by the tape, when near the ditch.

"It is readily possible to form large letters out of this tape by nailing it up with zinc nails. Such signs as 'Fireman,' 'Doctor,' etc., also direction arrows prove extremely serviceable. See Fig. 3.

"The illustration, Fig. 2, shows a most useful beacon provided with a spike to be driven in the ground. They are also made in the shape of large buttons, the luminous painted top being covered with transparent celluloid, and surmounted on a small steel spike $\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, which, by pushing, enters into any woodwork, and when affixed to the top of short stakes driven into the ground and placed ten yards apart, afford a guide to relief-parties going and returning in the dark. One hundred of these, ten yards apart, will serve 1,000 yards, the stakes being placed in the day on chosen fairly level ground.

"One of the most useful articles for dark-night operations is 'luminous tape.' This tape, if placed on the ground and secured by stakes, metal rods, or stones, is prevented from being shifted by the wind. The 'tape-layer' places the tape in position during the day, choosing a safe path across the country, and diverting from the straight path according to the condition of the ground. The path should be wide

tape is also very useful for the work of the medical corps—the tape-layer by day-light choosing fairly level ground to guide the stretcher-bearers—thus saving their labor in the dark, with less jolting to the wounded. Moreover, lamps afford a mark for the enemy—whereas the tape can only be seen by those immediately over it—enabling work to be done silently in the dark, the darker the better.

"Signaling in the front-line trenches at night is always a precarious undertaking. Luminous paint beacons have been used very successfully for signaling silently by night. They are specially useful in trenches which are in close proximity to the enemy, saving the need of whispering the words of command, which causes a hushing sound, when complete silence is required for listening to the enemies' movements. These luminous beacons will carry a message a distance of twenty yards or sixty feet, sufficient for all average requirements. The signaling can be either

done with the Morse code or by describing large capital letters of the alphabet the reverse way, and by the hand waving them in the air. The Royal

Engineers of the English Army are said to have been the first to use these novel, yet wonderful, signaling devices."—*The Literary Digest*.

HINDU ACHIEVEMENT IN EXACT SCIENCE

BY BENOV KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

INVESTIGATIONS in radio-activity since 1896 have effected a marvellous revolution in our knowledge of Energy. The ultimate atoms of matter are now believed to possess "sufficient potential energy to supply the uttermost ambitions of the race for cosmical epochs of time."

Speaking of the new discoveries in connection with radio-activity, Professor Soddy remarks in his "Matter and Energy":

"It is possible to look forward to a time, which may await the world when this grimy age of fuel will seem as truly a beginning of the mastery of energy as the rude stone age of palaeolithic man now appears as the beginning of the mastery of matter."

This optimism seems almost to out-Bacon Bacon's prophecy in the "Novum Organum" (1621) relating to the wonderful achievements he expected from a "new birth of science." It was, he declared, inevitable "if any one of ripe age, unimpaired senses, and well-purged mind, apply himself anew to experience and particulars."

Becquerel's discovery of radio-active substances is thus a little under three hundred years from Bacon's first advocacy of experimental and inductive methods. The long and barren period between the scientific activity of ancient Greece and that of modern Europe, described by Whewell as the "stationary period of science" was drawing to a close in Bacon's time. The age was, however, yet "dark" enough to be condemned by him in the following words:

"The lectures and exercises there (at the universities) are so ordered that to think or speculate on anything out of the common way can hardly occur to any man. . . . Thus it happens that human knowledge, as we have it, is a mere medley and ill-digested mass, made up of much credulity and much accident, and also of childish notions which we at first imbibed."

Positive science is but three hundred years old. It is necessary to remember

this picture of the intellectual condition of Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century in every historical survey of the "exact" sciences (whether deductive-mathematical or inductive-physical); as well as in every comparative estimate of the credit for their growth and development due to the different nations of the world.

Hindu investigations in exact science, as briefly summarized here, come down to about 1200 A. D. Strictly speaking, they cover the period from the "Atharva Veda" (c 800 B. C.), one of the Hindu Scriptures, to Bhaskaracharya (c 1150), the mathematician; or rather to the middle of the fourteenth century, represented by Madhavacharya, the compiler of "The Sixteen Systems of Philosophy" (1331), Gunaratna (1350), the logician, "Rasa-ratnasamuchchaya," the work on chemistry, and Madanapala, the author of materia medica (1374) named after himself.

We are living today in the midst of the discoveries and inventions of the last few years of the twentieth century, e.g., those described in Cressy's volume. To moderns, therefore, the whole Hindu science exhibited here belongs to what may be truly called the pre-scientific epoch of the history of science. Its worth should, however, be estimated in the light of the parallel developments among their contemporaries, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Graeco-Romans, the Saracens, and mediaeval Europeans.

Whewell, according to whom the scientific inquiries of the ancients and mediaevals "led to no truths of real or permanent value," passes the following summary and sweeping judgment on all these nations:

"Almost the whole career of the Greek schools of philosophy, of the schoolmen of Europe in the Middle Ages, of the Arabian and Indian philosophers, shows that we may have extreme ingenuity and subtlety,

invention and connexion, demonstration and method; and yet out of these no physical science may be developed. We may obtain by such means logic and metaphysics, even geometry and algebra; but out of such materials we shall never form optics and mechanics, chemistry and physiology."

Further,

"The whole mass of Greek philosophy shrinks into an almost imperceptible compass, when viewed with reference to the progress of physical knowledge."
 "The sequel of the ambitious hopes, the vast schemes, the confident undertakings of the philosophers of ancient Greece was an entire failure in the physical knowledge." (History of the Inductive Science).

While accepting for general guidance the above estimate of Whewell regarding the ancients and mediævals, the student of Comparative Culture would find the following noteworthy points in a survey of world's positive sciences from the Hindu angle:

1. The "pure" mathematics of the Hindus was on the whole, not only in advance of that of the Greeks, but anticipated in some remarkable instances the European discoveries of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. That mathematics is the basis of the mathematical science known to modern mankind.

2. Like the other races, the Hindus also may be taken to have failed to make any epoch-making discoveries of fundamental "laws"—planetary, inorganic, or organic, if judged by the generalizations of today. But some of their investigations were solid achievements in positive knowledge, e.g., in materia medica, therapeutics, anatomy, embryology, metallurgy, chemistry, physics and descriptive zoology. And in these also, generally speaking, Hindu inquiries were not less, if not more definite, exact and fruitful than the Greek and mediæval European.

3. Hindu investigations helped forward the scientific development of mankind through China (and Japan) on the east and the Saracens on the west of India, and this both in theoretical inquiries and industrial arts.

4. Since the publication of Gibbon's monumental history, the historians of the sciences have given credit to the Saracens for their services in the development of European thought. Much of this credit, however, is really due to the Hindus. Saracen mathematics, chemistry, and medicine were mostly direct borrowings from Hindu masters. The Greek

factor in Saracen culture is known to every modern scholar; the Hindu factor remains yet to be generally recognized. That recognition would at once establish India's contributions to Europe.

5. Every attempt on the part of modern scholars to trace the Hellenic or Hellenistic sources of Hindu learning has been practically a failure. The trend of recent scholarship is rather to detect the Hindu sources of Greek science.

6. But, like every other race, the Hindus also got their art of writing from the Phœnicians. Besides, the Hindus may have derived some inspiration from Greece in astronomy as admitted by their own scientists, e.g., by Varahamihira (587 A. D.) India's indebtedness to foreign peoples for the main body of her culture is practically nil.

7. The Hindu intellect has thus independently appreciated the dignity of objective facts, devised the methods of observation and experiment, elaborated the machinery of logical analysis and truth investigation, attacked the external universe as a system of secrets to be unravelled, and wrung out of Nature the knowledge which constitutes the foundation of science.

8. The claims of the Hindus to be regarded as pioneers of science and contributors to exact, positive, and material culture rest, therefore, in all respects, on the same footing as those of the Greeks, in quality, quantity and variety. An absolute superiority cannot be claimed for either, nor can any fundamental difference in mental outlook or angle of vision be demonstrated between the two races.

It has been remarked above that the age of experimental and inductive science is about three hundred years. It is this period that has established the cultural superiority of the Occident over the Orient. But this epoch of "superiority" need be analyzed a little more closely.

Neither the laws of motion and gravitation (of the latter half of the seventeenth century), nor the birth of the sciences of modern chemistry and electricity during the latter half of the eighteenth, could or did produce the superiority in any significant sense. There was hardly any difference between Europe and Asia at the time of the French Revolution (1789). The real and only cause of the parting of ways between the East and the West, nay, between the

mediaeval and the modern, was the discovery of steam, or rather its application to production and transportation. The steam engine effected an industrial revolution during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. It is this revolution which has ushered in the "modernism" of the modern world in social institutions, science, and philosophy, as well as brought about the supremacy of Eur-America over Asia.

The year 1815 may be conveniently taken to be the year 1 of this modernism, as with the fall of Napoleon it marks also the beginning of a new era in world-politics, practically the era in which we still live. The difference between the Hindu and the Eur-American, or between the East and the West, is a real difference to-day. But it is not a difference in mentality or ideals or so-called race-genius. It is a difference of one century, the "wonderful century" in a more comprehensive sense than Wallace means by it.

I. ARITHMETIC.

A general idea of the achievements of the Hindu brain may be had from the following remarks of Cajori in his "History of Mathematics":

"It is remarkable to what extent Indian mathematics enters into the science of our time. Both the form and the spirit of the arithmetic and algebra of modern times are essentially Indian and not Grecian. Think of that most perfect of mathematical symbolism, the Hindu notation, think of the Indian arithmetical operations nearly as perfect as our own, think of their elegant algebraic methods, and then judge whether the Brahmans on the banks of the Ganges are not entitled to some credit. Unfortunately some of the most brilliant of the Hindu discoveries in indeterminate analysis reached Europe too late to exert the influence they would have exerted, had they come two or three centuries earlier."

The Hindus were the greatest calculators of antiquity. They could raise the numbers to various powers. The extraction of square or cube root was a child's play to them. As De Morgan admits, "Hindu arithmetic is greatly superior to any which the Greeks had.....Indian arithmetic is that which we now use."

The two foundations of arithmetic were discovered by the Hindus: (1) the symbols of numbers, or numerals as they are called, and (2) the decimal system of notation.

Numerals have been in use in India since at least the third century B. C. They were employed in the Minor Rock Edicts of Asoka the Great (B. C. 256). In modern

times the numerals are wrongly known as "Arabic", because the European nations got them from their Saracen (Arab) teachers.

The decimal system was known to Aryabhata (476 A. D.) and Brahmagupta (A. D. 598-660) and fully described by Bhaskaraenariya (1114). In "Vyasa-bhasya", also, the system is referred to. The transformation of substance in chemical fusion through the "unequal distribution of forces" is illustrated by the author by a mathematical analogy: "Even as the same figure '1' stands for a hundred in the place of hundred, for ten in the place of ten, and for a unit in the place of unit." Brajendranath Seal thinks that the "Vyasa-bhasya" cannot have been composed, later than the sixth century A.D. The decimal system was therefore known to the Hindus "centuries before its appearance in the writings of Arabs or Graeco-Syrian intermediaries."

The Saracens learnt from the Hindus both the system of numeration and the method of computation. Even in the time of Caliph Walid (705-15) the Saracens had to depend on alphabetical symbols. They had no figures for numbers yet. A Hindu scientific mission reached Mansur's court from Sindh in 773. This introduced the Moslems to Hindu astronomical tables. The Saracen astronomical work thus compiled was abridged by Musa, the Librarian of Caliph Mamun (813-33). "And he studied and communicated to his countrymen the Indian compendious method of computation, i.e., their arithmetic, and their analytic calculus." (Colebrooke).

This was the first introduction of the decimal system among the Saracens (830). They have ever since acknowledged their debt to the Hindus. Alberuni (1033) wrote: "The numeral signs which we use are derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs."

It was probably in the twelfth century that the Europeans learnt Hindu science from their Saracen masters. Leonardo of Pisa, an Italian merchant, was educated in Barbary, and thus became acquainted with the so-called Arabic numerals and Musa's work on algebra based on the Sanskrit. In 1202 was published his "Liber Abaci". This was the beginning of modern arithmetic in Europe. The pioneering work may have been done by Gerbert, the Frenchman, who learnt the Hindu system

from the Mohammedan teachers at Cordova in Spain (c 970-80). (T. Thomson). Musa, the first distinguished Moslem mathematician, was the connecting link between the algebra and arithmetic of the Hindus and mediæval European mathematics.

At the commencement of the Christian era, the Chinese "adopted the decimal system of notation introduced by the Buddhists, and changed their ancient custom of writing figures from top to bottom for the Indian custom of from left to right" ("Chinese Sociology" compiled by Werner, who reproduces this extract from Williamson's Journeys in N. China).

II. ALGEBRA.

Algebra is a Hindu science in spite of the Arabic name. Cajori suspects that Diophantus (A.D. 360), the first Greek algebraist got the first glimpses of algebraic knowledge from India. According to Heath, the Europeans were anticipated by the Hindus in the symbolic form of algebra. According to De Morgan, the work of Diophantus is hardly algebraic in the sense in which that term can be applied to the science of India. According to Hankel, the Hindus are the real inventors of algebra if we define algebra "as the application of arithmetical operations to both rational and irrational numbers or magnitudes."

The mathematician who systematized the earlier algebraic knowledge of the Hindus and thus became the founder of a new science is Aryabhata, born A.D. 476 at Pataliputra on the Ganges in Eastern India. He was thus over a century later than Diophantus; but Smith proves that neither in methods nor in achievements could the Greek be the inspirer of the Hindu.

The points in which the Hindu algebra appears particularly distinguished from the Greek are thus enumerated by Colebrooke:

1. A better and more comprehensive algorithm.

2. The management of equations involving more than one unknown term. (This adds to the two classes noticed by the Saracens, viz., simple and compound).

3. The resolution of equations of a higher order, in which if they achieved little, they had at least "the merit of the attempt", and anticipated a modern discovery in the solution of biquadratics.

4. General methods for the solution of indeterminate problems of 1st and 2nd degrees, in which they went "far beyond Diophantus" and anticipated discoveries of modern algebraists.

5. Application of algebra to astronomical investigation and geometrical demonstration, in which also they hit upon some methods which have been "re-invented in later times."

It was thus not a "primitive" algebra that the Hindus developed. The achievements of Indian algebra from fifth to twelfth century A.D. have in some cases anticipated the discoveries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. Modern algebraists have thus only rediscovered the already known truths.

The Hindu algebra of this period was the principal feeder of Saracen algebra through Yakub and Musa, and indirectly influenced to a certain extent mediæval European mathematics. It may have fostered the development of mathematics in China also, and through that, of Japan. According to Williams, the Hindu processes in algebra were known to the mathematicians of the Chinese Empire, "and are still studied in the Middle Kingdom," though all intellectual intercourse between the two countries has long ceased.

The progress of Hindu algebra (mainly in Southern India) after Bhaskara (twelfth century) was, as Seal suggests, parallel to the developments in China and Japan. But that is a subject that awaits further research.

The Hindu discoveries in algebra may be thus summarized from the recent investigations of Nalinbehari Mitra:

1. The idea of an absolutely negative quantity.

2. The first exposition of the complete solution of the quadratic equation (Brahmagupta 598-660 A.D.).

3. Rules for finding permutations and combinations (Bhaskara, born 1114). These were unknown to the Greeks.

4. Indeterminate equations: "The glory of having invented general methods in this most subtle branch of mathematics belongs to the Indians." (Cajori).

5. Indeterminate equations of the second degree.

In the light of Comparative Chronology these discoveries are remarkable evidences of the fecundity of the Hindu brain in "exact" science. The three great anticipa-

tions of modern algebra are enumerated and appreciated by Colebrooke in the following terms:

1. The demonstration of the noted proposition of Pythagoras concerning the square of the base of a rectangular triangle, equal to the squares of the two legs containing a right angle. The demonstration is given in two ways in Bhaskara's algebra (twelfth century). The first of them is the same which is delivered by Wallis (1616-1703) in his treatise on angular sections, and as far as appears, then given for the first time.

2. The general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree. It was first given among moderns by Bachet de Meziriac in 1624.

3. Solution of indeterminate problems of the 2nd degree,.....a discovery which among the moderns was reserved for Euler (1707-83). To him among the moderns we owe the remark: "Which the Hindus had made more than a thousand years ago, that the problem was requisite to find all the possible solutions of equations of this sort."

Bhaskara invented the art of placing the numerator over the denominator in a fraction. He invented also the $\sqrt{\quad}$ (the radical sign). This was not known in Europe before Chuquet and Rudolff in the sixteenth century.

Bhaskara also proved the following:—

$$x + 0 = x; 0^2 = 0; \sqrt{0} = 0; x \div 0 = x.$$

III. GEOMETRY.

The earliest geometry of the Hindus is to be found in the "Sulvasutras" of Bau-dhayana and Apastamba. In these treatises, which form parts of the most ancient Vedic literature, we get the application of mathematical knowledge to the exigences of religious life, sacrifices, rituals, construction of altars, etc.

At this stage Hindu geometry was quite independent of Greek influence. The following are some of the problems, which, according to Mitra, were solved by the mathematicians of the Vedic cycle:

1. The so-called Pythagorean theorem: the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides.

2. Construction of squares equal to the sum or difference of two squares.

3. Conversion of oblongs into squares, and vice versa.

4. Drawing of a perpendicular to a given straight line at a given point of it.

5. Construction of lengths equal to quadratic surds: the approximate value of $\sqrt{2}$.

6. Circling of squares.

7. Squaring of circles,—“that rock upon which so many reputations have been destroyed” both in the East and the West. The earliest Hindus got $\pi = 3.0044$.

8. Construction of successive larger squares from smaller ones by addition.

9. Determination of the area of a trapezium, of an isosceles trapezium at any rate, when the lengths of its parallel sides and distance between them are known.

The oldest geometrical efforts of the Hindus were not entirely empiric. They doubtless “reasoned out all or most of their discoveries” (Cajori). These could not have been inspired by the Greeks (Heath).

We find Aryabhata (476 A.D.) solving the following among other problems, viz., the determination of—

1. Area of a triangle,

2. Area of a circle,

3. Area of a trapezium,

4. The distance of the point of intersection of the diagonals of a trapezium from either of the parallel sides,

5. The length of the radius of a circle.

Aryabhata gave also the accurate value of π ($= \frac{62832}{20000}$), and the area of the circle as πr^2 . The Saracens learnt this from the Hindus. Probably Yakub (eighth century) was the first to get it when the astronomical tables were imported to Bagdad from India. The correct value of π was not known in Europe before Purbach (1423-61).

At this stage also Hindu geometricians were not indebted to the Greeks. Their independence is thus argued by Mitra:

“Euclid and his school never meddled with logistics which was practically abandoned as hopeless after the time of Apollonius, while the Indian mathematician's turn of mind was nothing if it was not directed to practical computations. The fact that the Indians took the chord of a small circular arc as equivalent in length to the arc—a step which no sane Greek mathematician with a free conscience would have even dreamt of taking—ought to settle once for all the question of the dependence of Indian geometry on Greek geometry.”

Fresh contributions to geometry were made by Brahmagupta (598-660), viz., those relating to

1. The construction of right-angled triangles with rational sides.

2. Various properties of right-angled triangles.

3. The area of a cyclic quadrilateral.

4. Properties of isosceles trapezium.

5. Properties of cyclic quadrilateral.

6. Properties of circles; Brahmagupta gave the rules (1) for finding the diameter of a circle when the height and chord of a segment of it are given, and (2) for finding the area of a segment of a circle. The first rule in the form given by the Hindu was not known in Greece. Musa (830) learnt both these rules from Brahmagupta's works.

7. Volume of a cone as one-third the volume of the cylinder.

8. Volume of a pyramid as one-third the volume of the prism.

9. Volume of a cavity of uniform bore (prismatic or cylindrical).

Bhaskara (1114) summarized and methodized the results of all previous investigators, e.g., Lata, Aryabhata, Lalla (499), Varahamihira (505), Brahmagupta, Shridhara (853), Mahavira (850), Aryabhata the Younger (970), and Utpala (970).

Bhaskara took care to explain that though Aryabhata and others knew the exact value of π , yet some later mathematicians took approximate values only for convenience of calculation. "It is not that they did not know." Thus Brahmagupta took $\pi=3$ roughly (or $\sqrt{10}$ closely), "for lessening the labour of calculation."

Among Bhaskara's original contributions may be mentioned the fact that he gave two proofs of the so-called Pythagorean theorem. One of them was "unknown in Europe till Wallis (1616-1703) rediscovered it" (Cajori).

It must be admitted that though Hindu geometers achieved the same results as the Greek, they did not attain the excellence of Euclid (c 306-283 B. C.) in method and system.

IV.—TRIGONOMETRY.

Hindu trigonometry was in advance of the Greek in certain particulars. The Hindus anticipated also modern trigonometry in a few points.

The mathematicians of India devised (1) the table of sines, and (2) the table of

versed sines. The term "sine" is an Arabic corruption from Sanskrit "Shinjini."

The use of sines was unknown to the Greeks. They calculated by the help of the chords.

The Hindu table of sines exhibits them to every twenty-fourth part of the quadrant, the table of versed sines does the same. In each, the sine or versed sine is expressed in minutes of the circumference, neglecting fractions.

The rule for the computation of the sines indicates a method of computing a "table by means of their second differences,—a considerable refinement in calculation, and first practised by the English mathematician Briggs (1556-1631)." (Wallace).

The astronomical tables of the Hindus prove that they were acquainted with the principal theorems of spherical trigonometry.

V.—CO-ORDINATE GEOMETRY.

Vachaspati (850 A. D.), the Doctor of Nyaya (logic), anticipated in a rudimentary way the foundations of co-ordinate (solid) geometry eight centuries before Descartes (1596-1650).

Vachaspati's claims are thus presented by Seal :

"To conceive position in space, Vachaspati takes three axes, one proceeding from the point of sunrise in the horizon to that of sunset, on any particular day (roughly speaking, from the east to the west); a second bisecting this line at right angles on the horizontal plane (roughly speaking, from the north to the south); and the third proceeding from the point of their section up to the meridian position of the sun on that day (roughly speaking, up and down). The position of any point in space, relatively to another point, may now be given by measuring distances along these three directions, i.e., by arranging in a numerical series the intervening points of contact, the lesser distance being that which comes earlier in this series, and the greater which comes later. The position of any single atom in space with reference to another may be indicated in this way with reference to the three axes.

But this gives only a geometrical analysis of the conception of three-dimensioned space, though it must be admitted in all fairness that by dint of clear thinking it anticipates in a rudimentary manner the foundations of solid (co-ordinate) geometry."

VI.—DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS.

Bhaskaracharyya (1114) anticipated Newton (1642-1727) by five hundred years (1) on the discovery of the principle of Differential Calculus, and (2) in its application to astronomical problems and computations.

According to Spottiswoode, the formula established by Bhaskara and "the method of establishing it bear a strong analogy to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy," viz., the determination of the differential of the planet's magnitude.

According to Bapudeva Shastri, Bhaskara's conception of instantaneous motion and the method of determining it indicate that he was acquainted with the principle of Differential Calculus.

According to Seal, Bhaskara's claim is indeed far stronger than Archimedes' to the conception of a rudimentary process of integration.

Bhaskara's process is thus described by Seal :

"Bhaskara, in computing the instantaneous motion of a planet compares its successive positions, and regards its motion as constant during the interval (which of course cannot be greater than a Truti of time, i.e., 1-3375th part of a second, though it may be infinitely less)."

This process is not only "analogous to but virtually identical with that of the Differential Calculus." As Spottiswoode remarks, mathematicians in Europe will be surprised to hear of the existence of such a process in the age of Bhaskara (twelfth century).

Seal's claim for Bhaskara is, however, limited to the historically imperfect form of the Calculus. Bhaskara does not specifically state that the method of the Calculus is only approximative. But, urges Seal, it must be remembered that the conception of limit and the computation of errors came late in the history of the Calculi of Fluxions and Infinitesimals. For the rest, Bhaskara introduces his computation expressly as a "correction" of Brahmagupta's rough simplification.

Further, as Seal points out, Bhaskara's formula for the computation of a table of sines also implies his use of the principle of Differential Calculus.

VII. KINETICS.

The Hindus analysed the concept of motion from terrestrial and planetary observations. To a certain extent they approached, though, strictly speaking, they did not anticipate, modern mechanics.

(1) Gravity: In astronomical works, e.g., of Aryabhata, Brahmagupta, and Bhaskara, the movement of a falling body is known to be caused by gravity. They ascribed gravity to the attraction ex-

ercised by the earth on a material body. But Newton's "law" of gravitation was not anticipated.

(2) Acceleration: Motion was conceived as a change of place in a particle and incapable of producing another motion; but "the pressure, impact, or other force which produces the first motion produces through that motion a samskara or persistent tendency to motion (vega), which is the cause of continued motion in a straight line, i.e., in the direction of the first motion." (Seal). A series of samskaras, each generating the one, that succeeded it, was also conceived. Acceleration is thus logically implied in the writings of Udyotakara, the Doctor of Nyaya (logic).

(3) Law of Motion: The force of samskara (or persistent tendency to motion, i.e., vega) was known to diminish by doing work against a counteracting force, and when the samskara is in this way entirely destroyed, the moving body was known to come to a rest. Thus "vega corresponds to inertia in some respects, and to momentum (impressed motion) in others. This is the nearest approach to Newton's First Law of Motion." (Seal). In the writings of Shankara Mishra, the Doctor of Vaisheshika (atomistic, Democritean) philosophy.

(4) Accelerated motion of falling bodies: Prashastapada (fourth century A.D.), the Doctor of Vaisheshika philosophy, believed that in the case of a falling body there is the composition of gravity with vega (momentum) acting in the same direction from the second instant onwards. It is as if the two motions coalesced and resulted in one. "Here is a good foundation laid for the explanation of the accelerated motion of falling bodies; but Galileo's discovery was not anticipated, as Galileo's observations and measurements of motion are wanting." (Seal).

Scientifically considered, Hindu ideas on statics do not seem to have made much progress. It is interesting to observe that among the Greeks statics was more developed than dynamics. This is the exact opposite of the state of investigation in India where motion was understood better than rest.

Thus the Hindus did not appear to have discovered the two celebrated principles of Archimedes (8.C. 287-212), viz.,—

(i) that relating to equilibrium of bodies and centre of gravity as determined

by the balance,—the first principle of Statics:

Those bodies are of equal weight which balance each other at equal arms of a straight lever.

(ii) that relating to the floating of bodies on liquids and the determination of

specific gravity,—the first principle of Hydrostatics:

A solid body, when immersed in a liquid, loses a portion of its weight equal to the weight of the liquid it displaces.

(To be continued).

SOME VEDIC RITUALS AND THEIR POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

BY NARENDRANATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

THE LEGEND.

THE rituals of the *Vājapeya*, performed, according to the *Satapatha*, by an emperor for installation to his imperial position, or by a Brāhmana for inauguration to his supreme position as such, are identical with those of the *Agnishtoma* with certain additions. The legend upon which this sacrifice is based is that once upon a time, the gods, and the *asuras*, both children of Prajāpati (the lord of creatures) tried to be supreme. Each *asura* in his arrogance thought himself supreme and, as he recognised none superior to him, made offerings in his own mouth as the token of his presumption. Each god on the other hand made offerings to his fellows. Prajāpati for this reason sided with the gods and the universe became theirs. But a rivalry set in among the gods each of whom wanted to have Prajāpati or the universe all to himself. To set it at rest, they ran a race in which Brihaspati impelled by Savitri became the winner. This race furnished nucleus of a sacrifice, namely, the *Vājapeya* by which Indra sacrificed and became supreme. As Brihaspati was the purohita of the gods and Indra a divine kshatriya, both brāhmana and kshatriya are eligible for the performance of the sacrifice.¹

GRAHAS.

After some preparatory rites for some days, the rituals of the first four days of the *Agnishtoma*² are celebrated on as many

days followed by the performances of the fifth day among which are found these additions or differences. With the morning pressing of *soma*-plants are drawn the *Amsu graha*, *Agnishtoma grahas* up to *Agrāyana*, three *Prishthya*, the *Shodasin*, five *Vājapeya*, seventeen *Soma* and *Surā*, and the *Madhu-graha*, *Ukthya* and *Dhruva grahas* for various objects such as long life, superiority, winning the worlds, truth, prosperity and light. With the exception of the *Soma*, *Surā*, and *Madhu grahas* which are used at the mid-day *soma*-feast, the rest are offered and drunk along with the evening ceremonies.¹

VICTIMS.

The principal animal victims are four to which are added eighteen subsidiary ones, namely, a spotted sterile cow (the earth piebald with vegetation) offered to the Maruts representing the peasants, for ensuring the supply of food in the kingdom, and seventeen goats of a particular description offered to Prajāpati for the same purpose.²

At mid-day before the *Māhendra* cup is drawn, takes place the chariot-race, the sacrificer competing with sixteen rivals. The sacrificer's chariot is taken from its stand to the north-eastern part of the *Mahāvedi*, four horses to be harnessed to it are sprinkled with water accompanied with *mantras* in order that they might win the race for their master. A rice-pap is prepared for Brihaspati, the winner of the first race of this kind, and taken to the horses to be

¹ S. Br., v, 1, 1, 1-11.

² For description of the *Agnishtoma*, see the first portion of the section on the *Rajasuya*.

¹ S. Br., v, 1, 2.

² Ibid., v, 1, 3.

smelled by them for the same purpose. The *Brahman* stands on a cart-wheel fixed to a post and sings a *Sāman* to gain for his client the air-world, the terrestrial world, being left to be won by the chariot-race. Seventeen drums put in a row from the Āgnidhra hearth westwards are beaten for making an auspicious sound favourable to the sacrificer's purpose. A post is fixed at the end of seventeen arrows' range to indicate the farthest limit of the race-course. The sacrificer prays to Savitri, for impulsion and mounts his chariot as also his sixteen rivals. During the race the *Adhvaryu* utters *mantras* addressed to the horses of the sacrificer's chariot. The cars run up to the post round which they turn and come back in such a way that the sacrificer happens to be the first to reach the altar. It is this winning of the chariot race by the sacrificer as an emperor (or by a Brāhmaṇa recognised as supreme by virtue of his qualities inborn and acquired) that formally proclaims and installs him to the high position that has been already his by general consent. The horses are made to smell again the Bārhaspatya rice-pap with the thoughts that the establishment of the sacrificer's superiority upon the territorial world is now an accomplished fact. The *Adhvaryu* and the sacrificer next put the *Madhu-grāha* previously mentioned in the hand of a Vaisya or Kshattriya competitor in the race, who in turn makes it over to the *Brahman*, while the *Neshtri* (an assistant of *Adhvaryu*) a *sura* (liquor) cup in the hand of the same person. By the former rite, the recipient gets long life and other benefits, and by the latter the sacrificer is imbued with "truth, prosperity and light," leaving with the Kshattriya or Vaisya "untruth, misery and darkness but enjoyment of all benefits".¹

It is supposed by some authorities that the *Vajapeya* sacrifice grew very probably out of the "chariot racing transformed into a ceremony which by sympathetic magic secures the success of the sacrificer".²

After twelve *Apti* and six *Klṛipti* offerings on the *āhavaniya* fire for procuring for the sacrificer all that the twelve months of the year and the six seasons can bestow, the sacrificer climbs up a ladder put against the post at the end of the race-course followed by

his wife who has been led up to the place by the *Neshtri*. The company of the wife is intended to make the sacrificer complete by addition to him one of his own self. A lump of wheaten dough fixed on the post as its head-piece is then touched by him with the *mantra* 'we have gone to the light, O ye gods', the touching of the dough symbolizing the obtainment of food and drink that give him the strength to reach the supreme goal. He then rises over the post by the measure of his head saying 'we have become immortal, whereby he wins the celestial world. Then he adds 'Ours be your power, ours your manhood and intelligence, ours be your energies', for by the *Vajapeya*, the celebrant obtains Prajāpati who is everything here. Seventeen packets of *Asvattha* leaves containing salt are thrown up to him by the vaisyas to indicate that they would never fail as agents for supply of food. Homage is then made by him to the mother Earth in order that she might not shake him off. A goat's skin with a gold coin on it is spread by the *adhvaryu* for the sacrificer to step upon after descending from the ladder. Gold being the symbol of immortality, the sacrificer is supposed to take his stand on immortal life by this ritual.¹

SPRINKLING.

A throne of udumbara wood is placed behind the *āhavaniya* fire in front of the cartshed and a goat's skin is spread on it.² The sacrificer is seated on the throne with this *mantra* uttered by the *adhvaryu* 'Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord! Thou art firm, and steadfast! (I seat) Thee for the tilling!—Thee for peaceful dwelling!—Thee for wealth!—Thee for thrift!'³ The Bārhaspatya pap is now given to Brihaspati but its *Svisthakṛit* is left to be offered later on after the *ujjiti* oblations. Several kinds of food are brought to the sacrificer to be tested by him and those that are not brought are to be eschewed by him through life.⁴ Out of these articles are offered with formulas seven *Vajaprasavaniya* oblations to increase his strength. The remnants are sprinkled on the sacrificer with a *mantra* which declares his supremacy and entrusts him to the pro-

1 S. Br., v, 1, 4 & 5.
2 V. I., II, p. 381.

1 S. Br., v, 2, 1, 11-25.

2 Ibid., v, 2, 1, 22-24.

3 Ibid., (S.B.E.), v, 2, 1, 25.

4 Authorities differ as to this point.

tection of the deities. This is followed by the *ujjiti* oblations which are supposed to give him control upon life, men, three worlds, cattle, five regions, six seasons, seven kinds of domestic animals, &c., in short *Prajapati* himself. After one or two other rites, the *Mahendra* cup is drawn and while the *Prishtha-Stotra* is chanted to be followed by the recitation of its *Sastra*, the sacrificer comes down from the throne and attends to the chanting and recitation.¹

Brihaspatisava.

OBJECTIVES AND ELIGIBILITY.

The objectives for the performance of the sacrifice are :—(1) The installation of a qualified Brāhmana to the office of the royal priest.² (2) The formal declaration of the supremacy of a Brāhmana who is regarded as fit for such a position by the kings and Brāhmanas.³ (3) The acquisition of strength and spiritual lustre by a Brāhmana.⁴ (4) The attainment of prosperity by a Vaisya according to one of the *sutras*.⁵ (5) The installation of a *Sthapati* (Governor of a district)⁶ to his office.⁷

In some of the texts, as already pointed out, the *Vājapeya* is mentioned as an adjunct to the *Brihaspatisava*,⁸ the *Satapatha*⁹

merging the latter in the former. The *Sūtra*¹ of the *Satapatha* does not follow it in this respect, prescribing that the *Brihaspatisava* is performed a fortnight before and after the *Vājapeya*.

PRINCIPAL RITUAL.

The *sava* as usual lasts only for a day, its principal ritual being the sprinkling of the performer with *ghee* (symbol of strength) while seated on the skin of a black antelope.²

Prithisava.

The *Prithisava* takes its name from its first performer, Prithi, son of Vena. The object achieved by this *sava* is the attainment of supremacy upon all beings including men. A few rituals of the *rājasuya* compose this sacrifice.³

Rad-yajna.

The celebration of the *Rad-yajna*⁴ was intended to restore⁵ a deposed king to his kingdom, or procure the allegiance of the refractory subjects to a reigning king. The noteworthy ritual of this ceremony is the *abhisheka* in which the celebrant is surrounded by the eight *Viras* and sprinkled, the *Viras* being (1) king's brother, (2) king's son, (3) royal priest, (4) queen, (3) *suta* (charioteer), (6) *grāmanū* (village headman), (7) *kshattrā* (gate-keeper according to Sāyana), and (8) *samgrahitri* (collector-general).

1 S. Br., v, 2, 2.

2 Taittiriya-Brahmana, II, 7, 1, 2.

Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xvii, 11, 4 & 5.

3 Latyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, viii, 7, 4.

4 Sankhayana-Srauta-Sūtra, xv, 4, 1 & 2.

5 Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra, xxii, 25, 1.

6 According to Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

7 Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xvii, 11, 6.

Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra, xxii, 7, 6.

The Brahmana here mentioned calls it Sthapati-sava in view of its particular purpose on the occasion.

8 Sankhayana-Srauta-Sūtra, xv, 4, 1.

Asvalayana-Srauta-Sūtra, ix, 9, 1.

9 Satapatha-Brahmana, v, 2, 1, 19.

1 Katyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, xiv, 2.

2 Taittiriya-Brahmana, II, 7, 34.

3 Ibid., II, 7, 5, with Sāyana's commentary.

4 Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xix, 7, 1-4.

5 Hymn III, 3 of the Atharva-Veda, which is used with the one next following, has also for its object the restoration of a king. Hymns vi, 87, 88 of the same Veda are directed towards establishing a king in sovereignty.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

“CONCERNING John's Indian Affairs” is a book published in 1872 by Robert H. Elliot, who was a planter in Mysore. The book was brought out by the firm of Chapman and Hall,

London, and is full of interesting matter, both social and political. It deals with events which happened about the year 1870, and therefore carries us back nearly fifty years in point of time. A perusal of

the book reminds one of Lord Morley's observation in one of his Indian speeches, viz., that there is very little that is new in the modern suggestions for the better Government of India, for all that is sound and important in them was urged long ago by political thinkers and administrators. But the pity of it is that though the suggestions themselves are so old, they have seldom been given effect to, and so in a sense they have never lost their novelty. This is our excuse for reverting to them now, with a view to show that most of the reforms advocated by the politicians of today were admitted to be necessary fifty years ago, not by pestilential Indian agitators alone, but also by sober Englishmen who wished well by their country.

Fifty years ago, opium formed an important item of revenue, when we used to say to the Chinese, 'take ours opium or we will cut your throats, as we have done before' (page vii). But the author repeatedly warns the Government not to rely too much on this source of income, as the Chinese had begun to grow their own opium. Evidently the other alternative of the abstinence of the Chinese from this deadly drug was not even suspected in those times, for the celestials were supposed to be incapable of such heroic self-sacrifice. But that nation of opium-eaters has since revealed a reserve of hidden moral strength which augurs well of its future.

The author repeatedly adverts to the spread of discontent in India. At the very outset he quotes Sir Donald Macleod who says:

"There is a vast amount of discontent spreading from year to year, owing to the unsympathizing character of our administration, and the absence of all really effective endeavours to ascertain the feelings and wants of the native community, or to give them a voice in their affairs."

"English and native societies," says Mr. Elliot, "instead of approaching each other, are daily becoming more divergent.

England is near to India, and the road is cheap and easy. The Anglo-Indian mind will therefore incline homewards more than ever."

In a book on the Indian Mussalmans published in the same year by Sir William Hunter, the same note is struck in the very first page: "The chronic evil which environs the British power in India is the gap between the Rulers and the Ruled."

The Muhammadans were then very much in bad odour, owing to the Wahabi rebellions on the western frontier and the murder of Lord Mayo and Chief Justice Norman, but Mr. Elliot says that their discontent is not to be wondered at.

"To declare that a people can be supplanted, kicked downhill, and oppressed by a superior race, without feeling a wish to turn and rend their conquerors, is tantamount to declaring that the conquered race is made up of a mass of miserable, spiritless slaves."

But the Mussalmans have well stood the test laid down by Mr. Elliot himself:

"When a real temptation arises—when the day arrives when Indian discontents are at their height, while our hands are full to overflowing in Europe—it will then remain to be seen whether the Mussalmans of India will not strike one blow for freedom."

The immediate cause of the discontent which was rife appears to lie in the fact that the country was 'dangerously over-taxed,' the income-tax being converted into an 'intolerable engine of oppression.' It would appear that at one time it was seriously proposed to tax marriages, and feasts where the host invited more than a certain number of guests. Comparing 'the incidence of taxation in India and England, and taking into account the income of each country, we shall find that the taxation of the former country is twice as much as that of the latter.' "To go on adding to the taxation as your agents are doing now, and have been doing for sometime, is simply an act of the grossest barbarity." The English, according to Mr. Elliot, had founded in India "an empire which has destroyed the liberties of the people, reduced them to a political slavery complete in all its parts, and imposed on them taxes which are hateful because they are both new and burdensome, and because out of their collection there have arisen intolerable oppressions." Mr. Elliot says that the Government had got back to the days of Warren Hastings when the cry was, "Govern leniently, but get more money," in other words, be at once the father and oppressor of the people.

Things had come to a sadder pass owing to the indiscriminate borrowings of capital to lay out on reproductive works, such as railways, military barracks, costly bridges, &c., resulting in a reckless waste of public money. And in this connection

the author lays down a maxim which is as true to-day as when he enunciated it.

"No human beings as yet discovered in the world are fit to be entrusted with the expenditure of public money where neither watch nor control is kept on the expenditure by the representatives of the people."

He returns to this charge again and again, and illustrates it by instances of the reckless extravagance of the Public Works Department in jerry-built and costly barracks which came down or had to be abandoned as soon as built, in this contrasting so markedly with the public edifices of the Rajas of Mysore and the Moghuls, and their 'magnificent irrigation works, tanks and channels, works many of which had been constructed hundreds of years ago.'

The author is on very debatable ground when he says :

"We can no longer, as I have said, conceal from the people that we can be influenced by assassination and conspiracy ; and as little can we conceal from them that we have already yielded to both in the case of people close to our own doors. All the educated Indians, all the influential classes of the community,—we might almost say all those who have ears to hear and eyes to see—are perfectly well aware that the Irish Land Bill and Church Bill followed only after a long course of landlord-shooting and Fenianism, and they will not be slow to conclude from the juxtaposition of these circumstances that the surest way to be heard is a bloody one."

This is a reading of history which has led to much misery among some misguided youths of Bengal, whose patriotic instincts have thereby been perverted to criminal uses. But all will readily agree with what follows :

"If, on the other hand, we resolve to let the people alone for the future, keep far within our income, remit obnoxious and oppressive taxes, admit the upper classes to a fair share of employment in the public services, and show the people of India that we are starting them on the high road to eventually governing themselves—we may then dismiss from our minds the idea that any serious consequences are likely to arise out of this sad catastrophe (the murder of Lord Mayo)."

We now come to the reforms suggested by Mr. Elliot. Comparing India to a Zemindari, and addressing John Bull, he says :

"You should at once prepare to reduce the number of highly-paid English officials. To do this, John, you must harden your heart [a thing which Government has not yet been able to do, as the Report of the Public Services Commission and the debate thereon in the Imperial Council show]. Your Indian agents [i. e. the civilian bureaucracy] will shout out to you to beware of the gulf of retrogression ; but do you go on your way rejoicing, and retort upon them that it is far more important to beware of the gulf of bankruptcy."

Meeting the common official charge of native corruption, which by the way is no longer applicable, he says :

"It seems almost superfluous to add, that it is much better for India to have a corrupt native agency than a pure European one. The first, it is true, would rob the people. But the second, it must be borne in mind, would rob them far more effectually by simply deporting a large proportion of the profits of the soil to England ; while the peculations of a native agency would be sure, in the end, to be spent in useful works, in employing labour of various kinds, and in adding to the general wealth of the country. But at present the Indians have all the evils of a European agency, and are very little the better. The European agency is not extensive enough to do away with the peculations of the petty officials who have to be bribed as much as, and in many instances even more, than they ever were before."

We should also mention in this connection that Mr. Elliot does not seem to have been much impressed, by the high claims of 'John's Indian agents' to moral integrity and efficiency. He is never tired of repeating that "whenever politicians, statesmen, or by whatever name we may choose to call the governors of men, are left to follow their own devices, they invariably prove a very mischievous class of persons." Even in his time "any officer who ventures to report unpalatable facts does so at the peril of his advancement in the public service." Referring to the misappropriation of the Mosheen Fund, he says :

"A meaner piece of pillage was never perpetrated by the Indian or any other government, and the maintenance of such a wrong emphatically gives the lie to those boasts of public integrity we have heard so much of."

Successful despots like Runjit Singh, Hyder Ali, Dost Mahamad, Mehemet Ali, Malcolm, Munro, Elphinstone, Metcalf, governed well because "all these men were largely controlled by the opinion and wishes of the natives, and took very good care cautiously to feel the pulse of the populations they ruled over before venturing on any line of policy they might be doubtful on." Besides, "in the ordinary course of affairs there are many checks on a despot—the check of his own interests mainly which causes him to consult the wishes of the people as much as possible—and when the worst comes to the worst, they can generally manage to cut off his head in order to encourage his successors." But you cannot similarly get rid of "the never-ending succession of money-squandering despotic officials."

"In fact, such an amount of harm as we have done in India never could have been done by selfish men

under similar circumstances. If these last do harm when invested with irresponsible power, good men invariably do ten times more. Narrow-minded, selfish men would have worked the country cheaply, let the people alone, and turned on plenty of water [i. e. started irrigation works] to add to the revenues. They would thus have had few famines, a full exchequer, and a contented people. What a series of famines and financial difficulties, and what boundless discontent, have our good men succeeded in producing!"

The theory of the 'drain' was as prevalent then as now, as will appear from the following observations of Mr. Elliot, where, addressing John Bull, he says of his Indian Estates :

"So far from capital being accumulated in the hands of the inhabitants of your Indian estates, it was steadily being drained away, and to an extent that must always keep the property poor, and totally unable to bear any but the lightest taxation, and the very cheapest of administrations."

As to "the exact method by which so much of the soil of India is so steadily carried over to supply top-dressing for fields at home" he explains :

"Though they [the Indian people] got paid for their produce, they had to take a good deal of money and hand it over to your numerous agents, who either returned home with a large proportion of the money and spent it all over Europe, or sent large quantities home regularly to be spent by their families, or the parts of families they were obliged to keep in England..... the profits made by planters, engineers, railway officials, lawyers, barristers and bankers, instead of remaining in India to be employed in developing the resources of the country, and so adding to its general wealth, were carried over here as fast as possible, to be spent in such a way that hardly any return was made to India in any shape whatever..... What the whole amount of capital annually deported from your Indian to enrich your home estates actually amount to, it is of course impossible to say, but we may put it down as at least twelve millions a year, which does not return to India in any shape that can possibly add to the general wealth of the property."

The author is emphatically opposed to grandiose schemes of railway extension, as the natives of India 'have to pay the enormous loss that is represented by the difference between the guaranteed interest and the railway earnings.' He is for suspending 'the execution of these magnificent schemes until we see our way more clearly, or at least until the railways already made pay their way, and cease to be a burden on the resources of your poverty-stricken Indian Empire.' Referring to the interest guaranteed out of the revenues of India to capitalist investors in England, he says :

"Allow me to remark on the extreme ingenuity by which the burdens of these works have been

shifted from the English shareholders on to the backs of the unfortunate natives. Talk of Asiatic art ! Why this is really a masterpiece."

Mr. Elliot's advice, to which he repeatedly adverts in this book, and which he also pressed before the Indian Finance Committee which called him as a witness, is "that the country should be watered first and railed afterwards, seeing that there is no money to do both at once."

"If the financier comes to me, I tell him that the key of finance is population, to pay plenty of taxes ; that the key of population is ample and certain food ; and that the only key to ample and regular food is to be found in water. If the general politician comes to me, I say to him, that if we wish to hold our own in India this can best be done by rendering her people rich and contented ; that this can only be done by developing the resources of the soil, and that this again can only be done by cheap and abundant water. If Manchester comes to me I say that India can only become an active purchaser of her wares by being enriched ; and here again we get to the one, the only answer."

Irrigation, in his opinion, is *the* remedy for putting a stop to famines—"these awfully frequent calamities"—and till schemes of irrigation are taken in hand and produce the desired result, 'there seems to be no immediate way of averting famines except by keeping stores of grain in the country.' To the objection that the setting up of granaries would interfere with the laws of supply and demand, Mr. Elliot answers :

"You don't allow people to perish by thousands by the roadsides, in order to encourage habits of forethought amongst the lower classes, and much less do you let them die by millions. You recognise the duty of saving life, and take the chance of being able to teach habits of forethought by educating and improving the people, instead of letting them improve themselves off the face of the earth."

On this point Mr. Elliot feels very strongly indeed, and speaks of "the hundreds of thousands of lives ruthlessly and barbarously sacrificed to a culpable neglect of remedies which could have been easily and readily applied," and supports his position by quoting a letter which appeared in the London *Asiatic*, in which it was shown that at the time of the great Orissa famine over thirty ships were loading rice for export in the harbour of Chittagong, only three days' sail from Balasore. No wonder that Mr. Elliot thinks that "the tendency of railways was to increase the risks of famine," and we find that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in his *Awakening of India*, is of the same opinion, for he says :

"In one way railways have added to the difficulty, and have widened the apparent famine area. They are, in the first place, the means by which the export of Indian grain is carried on. No one who has not been in India and has seen nothing of the working of the system from the great granaries at Karachi to the agencies in every little village which has a surplus of anything that can be sent away, can grasp the colossal nature of this export organisation. One firm alone sucks the sap of Indian life like a tropical sun, leaving dust and barrenness behind. A week or two after harvest India's surplus wheat and rice have passed into the hands of dealers, and when the next monsoon fails she starves."

The truth of these observations has been specially brought home to the compiler of this article who lives in a district where in spite of the prices having gone up all round owing to the war, rice is remarkably cheap and the cultivator is free from the grip of famine which stared him in the face only a few years ago, and this is due to the fact that the export trade is languishing owing to the deficiency of tonnage caused by the war.

The English moneyed classes are 'dying to develop the resources of India, or in other words, to find a larger market in India than they have hitherto met with.' Then, as now, Indians are sought to be governed 'without in any way consulting their wishes, or attempting to ascertain their opinions. The very axioms of government have thus been violated.' Mr. Elliot propounds his own scheme as follows :

"You have heard, my dear John, of the old Indian village system with its village councils. Well, in the first place it is proposed to revive these old councils, and empower them to discuss local matters and local works. In the next place it is proposed that these councils should send delegates to the headquarters of their country to form country-councils ; and these are in turn to send delegates to the provincial councils."

But Mr. Elliot could not think that "considering their present ignorance, the people of India can possibly fit themselves for such a system of Government under a period of at least fifty years from this time." We have very nearly come to the end of the period fixed by him, and meanwhile we are still crying for the system of compulsory 'political and material (by which the author meant industrial) education' by which he intended to train the people for self-government. We are also very far from the 'consultative councils' of which every country or district was to have one, which was to meet once a month or more, and was 'to act as a channel of communication between the government and the people, and to be consulted by the

collectors regarding all matters of internal administration'. Without the advice of these councils, no fresh taxes were to be levied, except in the case of war. These councils, Mr. Elliot clearly foresaw, might be turned into potent instruments for social uplift in regard to matters on which a foreign government would hardly dare to act. Mr. Elliot's penetrating vision did not overlook the mischief which English law had done by depriving Indians of the power of modifying their customs.

"This has been done simply by seizing on the existing customs as we found them, writing them down, and turning them into laws which the people have no power to alter in any way..... the results of this entire deprivation of free action are altogether deadly and destructive to the very existence of the most valuable powers of man."

To restore to their customs the elasticity which they had lost under British rule, Mr. Elliot says :

"Why should not your consultative councils [the Advisory Boards of Mr. R. C. Dutt and other modern politicians] act after the manner of synods, at least to the extent, in the first instance, of endeavouring to modify social customs which are now unsuited to many members of the community? And here attention might be directed especially to a relaxation of the laws of caste as regards those who wished to travel, or to depart in trilling particulars from the usages of their forefathers. Popular opinion would readily find expression through the medium of the councils, and facilities be given for the carrying out of changes wherever it might seem desirable. And seeing that the Hindoos have no ecclesiastical councils, in the course of time the reach of these councils would naturally and gradually extend to all religious matters whatsoever...."

This would be possible, according to the author, as the Hindoos 'with a masterly ingenuity, which the disciples of Loyola must always have contemplated with envy, contrived by degrees to mould in their religious system the whole organisation of society. In other words, they contrived to impart a religious stamp to all the habits and customs of life, and made social duties and religions exchangeable terms.'

India, according to Mr. Elliot is 'a poor hand-to-mouth country', 'the poorest and most heavily-taxed country in the world'; and whatever special grievances the Muhammedans suffer from, 'the great and crying wrongs' are suffered in common by all the foremost races in India.

"These wrongs are simply that the peoples of India have not only no share, or even the smallest voice, in the administration, but that they are debarred from rising to honourable posts in the military and civil services of the State. These are indeed the crying wrongs that Hindoo and Musalman alike suffer from, and alike feel; and it requires but a very

small amount of reflection to perceive that if you provide the peoples of India with an advanced education, and do not take measures to satisfy the desires that education naturally brings along with it, the end of these people will be worse than what it is at present, for the simple reason that they will be more conscious of their thralldom than ever they were before."

Among other remedies proposed by the author, are the following: (1) Appeals to be made direct to the Secretary of State for India on any matter of general importance, as for instance, in the case of a governor acting in opposition to the constitution of the State. (2) No new laws to be made for the future unless initiated by petition from the people. (3) Half of the building expenses of the India Office in England to be returned to the Indian exchequer in India. (4) The Indian Council, and all superfluous officials, to be paid off. (5) All army and civil stores and stationery to be directly purchased by the local officials without the intervention of the India Office. (6) The Revenue Boards should be abolished. (7) The accounts between India and England to be carefully examined and all sums unjustly extorted from the natives of India to be refunded. Finally, Mr. Elliot concludes:

"Reform the administration, and you may lead the people with a single thread of silk. The Hindoos are the most reasonable and easily governable people in the world, and if you will only treat them fairly and frankly, you may govern them safely for an indefinite period.....the Hindoos will keep quiet if you let them alone, because they are a very governable people, and all the respectable classes of the Mahomedans.....will keep quiet because, if they got rid of us, they don't exactly see their way to being able to assert their ancient supremacy. But the Hindoos and Mahomedans alike feel that they have a right to be consulted, and to have some share in the administration of affairs, and a larger share of government employment; and if you want to hold India as alone you can safely and honestly hold it, by the free consent of the people, you must make up your mind to reform your Government in some such way as I have indicated, and show the people, in short, that you are leading them on to that self-government which we ourselves enjoy, and which alone can insure the lasting happiness and welfare of the peoples of India."

The Hindus have always been praised for being the most easily governable people in the world. But this is only praiseworthy in the sense of Hindus being so well-disciplined as to give their willing allegiance to the properly constituted authorities. To be 'governable' in any other sense, in the sense, for instance, in which an animal is governable, is not noble, but humiliating to the manhood in

us. Every man should be his own master, and no man should permit himself to be controlled like an animal. If Mr. Elliot thought that Hindus were governable in this latter sense, the sooner the Hindus recover their manhood and self-respect and make it impossible to permit the use of such epithets in regard to themselves, the better it will be for them. We do not of course mean to say that they should develop a rebellious attitude, but they should be able to face the world like men, and though they should not be aggressive, they should certainly stand up for their rights.

Mr. Elliot is an expert on finance and has a statesmanlike grasp of political questions; but he also shines in his religious and social dissertations as a Christian of the most catholic turn of mind, having an extensive knowledge of Church history and missionary methods, and of the social reform movements in India, and particularly of the Brahmo Samaj. He has sympathy for the good points of the caste system, and his description of Hinduism and Buddhism shows that he has a correct understanding of the fundamental principles of those religions. The divisions and sectarian jealousies among the various Christian missions in India are dwelt upon, and while in perfect sympathy with the pure Theism of the Brahmo Samaj, he seems to be of opinion that the world is not yet advanced enough to do without mediators or go-betweens, and 'a pure Theism can never satisfy the religious wants of mankind as at present constituted.' He is an equally keen critic of the superstitions and absurdities in which all religions, as popularly believed, abound. Mr. Elliot was present at several of the lectures delivered by Keshab Chandra Sen in England. The impression he made on Mr. Elliot may be gathered from the following:

"Baboo Keshab Chandra Sen is a man of middle height, square build, and, for a native of India, if we except the very lowest castes, extremely dark. He appears to be about thirty years old, and his countenance is pleasing and intelligent. His command of English is wonderful, and his pronunciation excellent..... His voice is powerful, and his delivery fluent. Altogether he may be said to have the capabilities of a popular preacher."

Keshab drew a sharp distinction in his speeches between the spirit of Christ, and the various doctrines, ceremonies and rituals existing among the Christians. The

first he would accept without hesitation, but not the last. He seemed to have drawn too rose-coloured a portrait of English administration in India, and Mr. Elliot contradicts him in detail in regard to these matters. The spread of the vice of drink among educated Indians filled Mr. Elliot with sorrow, and made him sympathise with caste which had made wine an abomination to high caste Hindus. He quotes from Keshab's farewell speech in England in which he said :

"I was also pained to notice an institution I did not expect to find in this country—I mean caste. Your rich people are really Brahmins, and your poor people Sudras. I thought caste peculiar to India. Certainly, in a religious sense it is ; but as a social institution it perpetrates prodigious havoc in this country."

In passing the extreme sentence of the law on Yahya Ali, the spiritual director of the Wahabis in India with head-quarters at Patna, the Judge, Sir Herbert Edwardes, said as follows :—

"He is a highly educated man, who can plead no excuse of ignorance. What he has done, he has done with forethought, resolution, and the bitterest treason..... He aspired to the merit of a religious reformer ; but instead of appealing to reason and to conscience, like his Hindu fellow-countrymen in Bengal, of the Brahmo Samaj, he seeks his end in political revolution, and madly plots against the Government, which probably saved the Muhammadans of India from extinction, and certainly brought in religious freedom." (Hunter's The Indian Mussalmans, Second Edition, pages 93-94).

Mr. Elliot, proceeding to analyze the spirit which laid to the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj, alludes to the Puritans of England and the Sceptics of France, and says that religious enquiry is naturally followed by an enquiry into the policy of the state. The spirit which has resulted in the Brahmo Samaj "is an inquisitorial and sceptical spirit.

Its first step has been to march to the attack of Hindoo religious institutions, its second will be to march on to a consideration of the justice of our Government in India." "To a superficial observer our most formidable enemies in India appear to be the Wahabis and Mahommedans, but in reality these people are as chaff compared to that spirit of which

the new Theism is the living fruit.....When the spirit which produced the Brahmo Samaj turns its attention to the affairs of the state—when its members, amply educated and entirely unprovided for, spread amongst the people and communicate to them the intelligence of the freedom enjoyed in England—when they point to the fact that the Indian has no share or voice in the administration, nor the smallest control of the public purse, and that the honourable offices of Government are devoured by foreigners, to the exclusion of the natives of the country—when they point out that India is annually undergoing an enormous depletion of solid money, which is taken from the soil to be spent in England—when they point to the fact that the people are taxed more heavily than any people in the world—when, finally, they show that this is only necessary because the country is obliged to support an enormous foreign army and an expensive alien Government—when all these things are made known, as one day they assuredly will be, there will arise a deep-seated feeling of universal hatred, which will surely make itself felt."

For the rest, Mr. Elliot quotes from practical farmers and agricultural experts to show that the Indian agricultural implements, considering the smallness of the holdings and the small cost of such implements and their suitability to present circumstances, cannot usefully be supplanted by foreign tools. Regarding the vernaculars, he says :

"The principal thing to attend to is the creation of a vernacular literature on useful subjects. If you encourage the best of the people to take to English, it will have the same ill effects that ensued from the adoption of French by the upper classes in Russia. The heads of the society will end by writing in English and addressing one another, instead of writing in the vernacular and addressing the multitudes of their ignorant countrymen."

Finally, we shall take leave of Mr. Elliot and his most interesting book with one more extract with regard to a subject we have adverted to more than once already, because we want it to be laid to heart by every well-wisher of India.

"No class of the human animal as yet discovered is fit to be entrusted with the outlay of large sums of money, where the money is not watched and controlled by the representatives of the people ;..... the only check you can have on the waste of public money in India, is by limiting the stock of money to be wasted."

BIBLIOPHILE.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The March number of Arya contains an article on the

Style and Substance of Poetry
from the pen of Aurobindo Ghose in which occurs the following :

While the first aim of prose style is to define and fix an object, fact, feeling, thought before the appreciating intelligence with whatever clearness, power, richness or other beauty of presentation may be added to that essential aim, the first aim of poetic style is to make the thing presented living to the

imaginative vision, the spiritual sense, the soul-feeling and soul-sight.

Poetry, like the kindred arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, appeals to the spirit of man through significant images, and it makes no essential difference that in this case the image is mental and verbal and not material. The essential power of the poetic word is to make us see, not to make us think or feel; thought and feeling must arise out of or rather be included in the sight, but sight is the primary consequence and power of poetic speech. For the poet has to make us live in the soul and in the inner mind what is ordinarily lived in the outer mind and the senses, and for that he must first make us see by the soul, in the light and with its deeper vision what we ordinarily see in a more limited and halting fashion by the senses and the intelligence. He is, as the ancients knew, a seer and not merely a maker of rhymes, not merely a jongleur, rhapsodist or troubadour, and not merely a thinker in lines and stanzas. He sees beyond the sight of the surface mind and finds the revealing word, not merely the adequate and effective, but the illumined and illuminating, the inspired and inevitable word, which compels us to see also. To arrive at that word is the whole endeavour of poetic style.

The aim of poetry, as of all true art, is neither a photographic or otherwise realistic imitation of Nature, nor a romantic furbishing and painting or idealistic improvement of her image, but an interpretation by the images she herself affords us not on one, but on many planes of her creation, of that which she conceals from us, but is ready, when rightly approached, to reveal.

Free Secondary Education for Mysore.

While in Calcutta, the premier city of Bengal, some of our City Fathers are trying their best to knock the bottom out of the resolution for the introduction of free primary education; in Mysore, not only compulsory and free primary education is in full swing, but an attempt is being made to have the fees abolished in *secondary* schools also.

V. Subrahmanya Iyer, writing in the *Mysore Economic Journal* for February, says:

In every kind of struggle for existence, it is the men without brains that ultimately go to the wall and that of national as well as of individual assets, the most reliable and the most permanent are men's intellectual resources. The cry everywhere is for efficiency: every nation wants not only efficient thinkers but also efficient workers. Education being the only universal high road to efficiency, today the training of the citizen is become a foremost concern of all civilised States. And every citizen in them claims education as a "Birthright". His war cry in the daily struggle is "free and equal educational opportunities."

If education is of interest not merely to the individual but also to the state or the community, it education is to be recognised as the best means of developing the most valuable of national resources and so justifies the largest state investments on it,

if it is not to be worked on the principle of Diminishing returns, if it is necessary that all the individuals should be educated that the community may not die out, if education is to be recognised as the 'Birth-right' of every citizen, and above all, if it is not to be iniquitous in its dispensations to the rich and the poor, can it be otherwise than "Free"?

The value of education has risen so high and the need for it so keenly felt, that it is deemed perfectly right on the part of the state, not only to compel its citizens to be educated but also to relieve them, not in part, but in entirety, of their obligation to purchase it. For, it is further realised that it is not merely the general rise in the level of intelligence that pays the community the best dividends by raising the standard of efficiency all round. The production of even a single leader of industry, of commerce, or of science, is often actually found to be a greater return for the investments made.

Without belittling the importance of Primary Education, as a factor of national progress, it may be observed that Secondary Education has a higher current value and therefore demands more urgent attention. Though Primary Education is concerned with the largest number, yet as it deals only with that part of the community that is below the age of ten, whose character is yet to form, who are inadequately equipped as workers and breadwinners, or with adults whose understanding is little developed, its influence on current national life is not appreciable. On the other hand, Secondary Education deals with youths in the heyday of their enthusiasm and spirits, at a stage in which their character is best moulded, when their mind is most impressionable, and therefore most responsive to appeals for service of every kind.

Unlike other countries, Mysore has more State institutions than Private. All the girls' schools being practically free, they may be left out here. There are about 301 Secondary schools for boys, of which about 200 are State and about 100 Private or Aided. Whether these private or aided institutions should continue to levy fees or should cease to do so is a matter for the schools themselves to decide.

In Mysore, past experience shows that 'Free' schools do not kill fee-paying schools. The strength in the Primary private institutions which levy fees, has not fallen though the State-schools of that grade have been free for several years past.

At the last meeting of the Representative Assembly, the members expressed their readiness to vote the amount required for making Secondary Education free, out of the Income-tax proposed to be levied. But as this new impost will draw upon the resources of only a section of the community and as the benefits of free education are participated by the entire body of citizens, the additional expenditure must, in all fairness, be met out of the general resources, i.e., the Provincial Revenues, the Local or Village funds and the Municipal funds.

India is the first country known to History, which not only evolved a system of 'Compulsory' Education but also laid down and adopted in practice the principle that education should not be sold, but should be a free gift. Even to this day, after thousands of years, the expression 'Vidya Dana'—not 'Vidya Vikraya'—continues to be used. But the spirit of it is almost gone. And it is nothing strange that in the very land of its birth, the idea is become an utter stranger!

Dyspepsia in Bengal Students.

A. C. Banerjee writing in a recent number of *Indian Education* says quite correctly that "a greater part of the educated and professional men of Bengal suffer from one form of indigestion or other. The percentage of dyspeptic gentlemen in Bengal will be much more than 50 per cent. It cannot also be ignored that the seed of this disease is sown in student-life."

Ill distribution of meals; Taking the morning meal just after bath; Smoking and general use of tea or coffee—these are mentioned as some of the main causes of dyspepsia from which Bengali students suffer.

The following suggestions will be useful to sufferers:

- (1) Avoid medicines as much as possible.
- (2) Do not eat when you are under the influence of any passion or severe excitement. Occasional fasting will do you good.
- (3) Take things that agree and scrupulously avoid those that disagree. Remember "What is food to one may be poison to another."
- (4) So also regulate the quantity of food by experience. Err on the side of less not more.
- (5) When you are in doubt as to whether you will eat or not, do not eat.
- (6) Avoid late hours in the night. "Early to bed and early to rise" is very beneficial for dyspeptics.
- (7) Never eat when you are not hungry.
- (8) Be sparing in the use of sweets and water. Don't drink copiously with meals.

(8) Do not take food or drink too hot or too cold; avoid iced water on hot days.

(9) Do not take food which is utterly distasteful to you, because it is recommended as healthful by others.

The problem of

Sanitary Housing in Villages

forms the subject of a short but thoughtful article penned by S. Srinivasa Murthi in a recent number of the *Mysore Economic Journal*. Says the writer:

The question of sanitary housing in villages is closely bound up with that of construction of out-houses for the picketing of cattle and the allotment of sites for the storage of manure. Houses in villages seem to be constructed more for the housing of cattle than of human beings and this is because the wealth of the ryot is in his cattle and he loves them as the apple of his eye. But it need hardly be said that so long as cattle and sheep are tied inside the dwelling house where people also live, as is generally the rule in villages, no matter what improvements may be effected in the structure of the house, the health of human beings cannot be secured. The provision of separate cattle sheds and sheep pens is absolutely necessary in the interests of the sanitation of the village. If sites are allotted to the villagers, they themselves will construct out-houses. The picketing of cattle inside human habitations, must be made penal as otherwise the time immemorial habit of the ryot cannot easily be broken.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Civil War of the Human Race.

The *Nation* has a very thoughtful and well written article from the pen of Havelock Ellis in the course of which we read:

Three waves at least of human populations have left superimposed strata in our national geology throughout Europe. They are, as we know, the dark long-heads from the South; the tall, fair long-heads from the North; the round-heads from the East. These three waves have washed their sedimentary deposits all over Europe, so that there is no country in which some elements of all three cannot be traced, while in many, and notably our own, all three are clearly and emphatically represented. We know how perplexing a problem may be conditioned by the mere flux and reflux of nationality, so that, for example, the Alsatian has at some periods been a Frenchman, and at others a German, always a rather French German or a rather German Frenchman, none the

worse, probably the better, on that account. But far more intricate and profound are the results of the flux and reflux of these three great stocks which are so much deeper than nationality.

It must be distressing for a patriotic German, accustomed to worship the large and robust goddess "Germania," to realize that the divine maiden bears a name which far from being *echt deutsch*, has a meaning which no one is quite sure about, except that it seems in any case trivial, and was certainly imposed by those ancestors of the traitorous Italians who first presented to the world the tribes they vaguely called "Germans." But the French patriot is in no better case. It is difficult for a thoughtfully patriotic Frenchman even to cry "Vive la France!" when he reflects that the Franks, after all, were merely a horde of barbarous Boches, whose proper home lay beyond the Rhine, though he may seek his *revanche* in the fact that that sacred German river bears a name which is not German at all, but, as some German scholars themselves admit, perhaps Celtic. Difficulties are by no means over when we cross

the Channel to that country which so far our patriot permit us to call by the atrociously Teutonic name of "England."

It has been said that the war of today is the great civil war of the human race. If it is meant that this is a war fought by people who share the same blood and the same traditions, people who have been accustomed to live together in amity under the same or similar social rules, then we may well accept the statement. It thus differs from those wars of the past which, though they may have sometimes been conditioned by concealed economic pressure, were often merely the struggles of rival dynasties for great prizes, a sort of perilous game engineered by high-spirited rulers content to operate with small bands of professional troops or mere mercenaries. We always seem to imply however, that a civil war is a particularly deplorable kind of war. Yet, so long as we retain war at all—for it is clearly possible to foresee a better way—civil war is, if we consider the matter, the only almost inevitable and really noble kind of war. For it is civil war that is most likely to be fought from ideal motives and for the sake of great principles.

Men die, but the ideas they died for live on. It is true. Yet under what strange disguises! In the struggle around Charles II, Shakespeare's world fought against Milton's world and was dashed to pieces, yet Milton's world never replaced it, and instead a few elements of each were combined to make another, more mediocre than either, yet better suited to the men who made it. So, also, in the Civil War of America, men fought for the great idea of the abolition of slavery, and at all events succeeded in substituting new slaveries, economic and social—not to mention that local segregation of the colored population attempted even today—which suited them better, and, it may well be, are better. So that humanity is not merely marking time. The optimist is entitled to believe that the dance of Man may, after all, be like that slow and sacred folk-dance of Furry Day through the main street of Helston, two steps backward and three steps forward, so that in the end the dance is done. It is even so in the pattern of the cosmic sphere of which Man is part, and the planets that circle like kittens pursuing their own tails are still dancing forward through space, on the path of Progress, to an unknown end.

The Shadow of Years.

The February number of the *Crisis*, which, by the way, is the Editor's Jubilee Number, contains entertaining reminiscences of the Editor W. E. B. Du Bois, penned by himself. We make a few extracts:

I was born by a golden river and in the shadow of two great hills, five years after the Emancipation Proclamation. The house was quaint, with clapboards running up and down, neatly trimmed, and there were five rooms, a tiny porch, a rosy front yard, and unbelievably delicious strawberries in the rear. A South Carolinian owned all this—tall, thin, and black, with golden earrings, and given to religious trances. My own people were poor. I never remember being cold or hungry, but I do remember that shoes and coal and flour caused mother moments of anxious thought in winter; a new suit was an event.

Mother was dark shining bronze, with a tiny ripple in her black hair; black-eyed, with a heavy, kind face. She gave one the impression of infinite patience, but a curious determination was concealed in her softness.

Alfred, my father, must have seemed a splendid vision in that little valley under the shelter of those mighty hills. He was small and beautiful of face and feature, just tinted with the sun, his curly hair chiefly revealing his kinship to Africa. In nature he was a dreamer, romantic, indolent, kind, unreliable. He had in him the making of a poet, an adventurer, or a Beloved Vagabond, according to the life that closed round him.

Very gradually I began to feel myself apart from my playfellows, with a special work, a special race. The realization came slowly—although at times there were sudden revelations. Curious enough, however, I always felt myself the superior, not the inferior, and any advantages which they had were, I was sure, quite accidental. I had only to mobilize my dreams—then they would see!

My real life-work was done at Atlanta for thirteen years, from my twenty-ninth to my forty-second birthday. They were years of great spiritual upturning, of the making and unmaking of ideals, of hard work and hard play. Here I found myself. I lost most of my mannerisms. I became more broadly human, made my closest and most holy friendships, and studied human beings.

I became widely acquainted with the real condition of my people. I realized the terrific odds which faced them. From captious criticism I changed to cold science; then to hot, indignant defense. I saw the race-hatred of the whites, naked and unashamed. I held back more hardly each day the mounting indignation against injustice and misrepresentation. I faced with streaming eyes the awful paradox of death and birth—in fine, I emerged a man, scarred, partially disillusioned, and yet, grim with determination.

At last, forbear and waver as I would, I faced the great Decision. My life's last and greatest door stood ajar. What with all my dreaming was I going to do in this fierce fight? Against all my natural reticence and hatred of forwardness, contrary to my dream of racial unity and my deep desire to serve and follow and think, rather than to lead and inspire and decide, I found myself suddenly the leader of a great wing of my people, fighting against another and greater wing. I hated the role. For the first time I faced criticism and *cared*. Every ideal and habit of my life was cruelly misjudged. I, who had always over-striven to give credit for good work, who had never consciously stooped to envy, was accused by honest colored people of every sort of small and petty jealousy; and white people said I was ashamed of my race and wanted to be white! I realized the real tragedy of life. The captivity of my soul was linked to the bloody and bowed head. Yet, there was no pomp of sacrifice, no place for appeal for sympathy. We simply had doggedly to insist, explain, fight and fight again until, at last, slowly, grudgingly we saw the world turn slightly to listen. My Age of Miracles returned again!

My cause grew, and with it I was pushed into a larger field. I felt more and more that Atlanta must stand well with philanthropists, while my larger duty was to speak clearly and forcefully for my people, despite powers and principalities. I was invited to come to New York and take charge of one part of a new organization. I came in 1910. It was an experiment. My salary even for a year was not assured, and I gave up a life position. I insisted on

starting *The Crisis* as the main part of my work and this, after hesitation, was approved. *The Crisis* succeeded, and here I am on my fiftieth birthday.

In the course of a short article contributed to the *New Witness*, G. K. Chesterton ably expounds the philosophy of

Nonsense for Nothing.

"The problem of the patriot's holiday at present," says the writer, "is to preserve the old extravagance of spirit without the old extravagance of expenditure."

I have been accused of standing on my head (I mean in theory) and certainly I should always think it less foolish to stand on my head than to stand on my dignity. But even standing on one's head, not in theory but in practice, would at least be an economical, because a self-sufficing and perhaps even a solitary amusement; at any rate the clubs formed for it would probably be few and select. No one could accuse it of an unpatriotic profligacy of expenditure; it might even be maintained to involve a saving in boots. But although I may appear to express myself with a certain playfulness my intention is entirely serious. It is too little realized that fun as well as philosophy is a mental and not a material thing; that the comparative independence of externals, which is admittedly a part of the stoic, can also be a part of the comic spirit. It is thought natural that the poet, contemplating the exaltation of the skylark, should speak of its scorn of all the entanglements of earth; but it is too little understood that the same thing can occur in the human habit of skylarking. It is assumed that the sage may stick to plain living and high thinking; it is forgotten that there is a parallel possibility of combining plain living with high jinks.

For the truth is that gaiety is the very opposite of thoughtlessness. At its best it makes a great demand on thought; and therefore is far from inconsistent with a considerable demand on thrift. And there is no better example of it than the most unique and typical of the old winter games and ceremonies. The best of these had one essential mark which implies the very opposite of idleness; they were home-made. And home-made things can have one quality which is almost entirely absent from the apparatus of sport or pleasure which the public has hitherto purchased in shops. The unique sign of such domesticity is originality. As I say, I am entirely serious; and I seriously suggest that, in the conjunction of this season with this epoch, we should pride ourselves primarily on making things rather than buying them. If we can do little, let us at least do it, and not pay factories and shops to do it; and let us, if necessary, be glad of the grotesque character of the result. Let us learn to make anything out of anything, especially out of anything useless. Presents are often called rubbish; and in this case we must be proud of producing them from rubbish. Jokes are often called rubbish, and in this case the rubbish will be the joke. If we can produce as much nonsense as possible, we shall still have combined pleasure and duty.

Can a Snail Learn?

J. Arthur Thomson writing in the *New Statesman* informs us that the educability of a snail has been satisfactorily proved by a series of exceedingly careful experiments made by Miss Elizabeth Lockwood Thomson. The admirably conducted investigation is thus set forth:

Miss Thompson observed that when the immediate neighborhood of the snail's mouth was touched with a little piece of food, such as lettuce, there followed a number—about four was common—of rapid mouth-movements; opening and closing in fact. The next step was to find a practicable secondary stimulus, and that used was pressure on the snail's foot or creeping sole with a clean glass rod. This does not normally evoke any mouth-movement, except in rare cases, which are readily explained. The next step was to apply simultaneously the two stimulations, the touch of food near the mouth and the pressure of the glass rod on the foot. To this for a time no answer at all was given. It was not till the snails had been tried sixty to one hundred and ten times that they began to answer, but after the Rubicon was crossed they answered back all the rest of the total of two hundred and fifty trials. It was noteworthy, however, that the number of mouth-movements in a single response did not reach so high an average as was exhibited when the food stimulus was used by itself. The snails that gave the normal answer back to the two stimuli applied simultaneously were regarded as "trained," and were ready for the next and crucial step in the experiment. Forty-eight hours after the completion of their training the snails were tried with the foot-pressure stimulus by itself. The dux of the class gave the proper mouth-moving answer the first seven trials right away; two other answers were given ninety-six hours after the end of the training. Other members of the class behaved in a similar way, but beyond the limit of ninety-six hours no answer could be wrung out of any of them. There was a sudden and final declinature to answer, which further experimentation showed to have no necessary connection with fatigue. In some of the many sets of experiments, the punctilious carefulness of which deserves high praise, there was an interesting waning in the number of mouth-movements in any one answer. Following a maximum number of mouth-movements in a response towards the middle of the series of trials, the number gradually diminished to the end of the series. This indicated that the snails were becoming adapted to a stimulus which was not being followed by any reward. Snails which gave no mouth response to pressure on the foot were so affected by the simultaneous application of pressure to the foot and food to the mouth that they then gave the mouth answer to pressure on the foot. The effect of training with the simultaneous stimuli persisted for ninety-six hours after the training stopped. The snail learned its lesson, but the registration of experience, memory in psychological language, was short-lived.

Those who have some acquaintance with freshwater snails know what captured specimens very generally do on the slightest provocation—even jarring the aquarium a little—is to expel the air from their breathing chamber, retract into their shell, and drop to the bottom, where they may sulk for an hour. Realizing that this nervousness

would make experimenting impossible, Miss Thompson began by "taming" her captives. They were taken in the hand at intervals and moved about under water; they were held till they protruded from the shell; they were abundantly handled, till they became so accustomed to it that they could be touched by the observer, or moved from one dish to another, without retracting their body or expelling the air from their lung. This "taming" is a further evidence of adaptability.

Very interesting data as to the educability of animals have been obtained by using simple labyrinths in which the creatures are placed at repeated intervals to see whether they learn to get out more quickly in the course of experience. It has been found useful in many cases to reward, say with food, a rapidly successful solution of the labyrinth, and to punish, say with a slight electric shock, the taking of the wrong road. Most of these experiments have been made with animals of high degree like cats and mice; Miss Thompson has spent much time and ingenuity in inquiring whether the labyrinth experiment can be adjusted so as to apply to fresh-water snails. In one form of the experiment a Y-shaped cylindrical glass tube was anchored to the floor of the aquarium. One arm was made rough internally, and at its upper end the snail received an electric

shock, of which the roughness was meant to be the "warning." The smooth arm of the tube led to the surface of the water, where fresh air is obtained—sufficient reward in itself. The experiment consisted in pressing the air from the snail's lung and then placing it at the base of the so-called labyrinth. It is of value to the snail to get its lung filled as soon as possible; this is attained by creeping up the smooth arm, it is missed by creeping up the rough one; and the failure is emphasized by a mild punishment, the slight electric shock. But the result of the pretty experiment was to show a complete incapacity to profit by experience to the extent of solving the problem. In one interesting set of experiments a power of forming associations was displayed, but it was not so to speak, followed up. Both arms were smooth, but the wrong road has as its warning notice-board an irritating hair which was made to touch the snail's horns and the back of its head. Immediately on the heels of the warning, if the snail persisted on its wrong course, came the punishment of a shock. Now, in 15.6 per cent. out of a total of nine hundred and thirty trials, the snails changed their course from the wrong to the right path after contact with the warning stimulus, but before the shock or punishment was received. This was undoubtedly profiting by experience.

THE FUTURE OF MILITARISM

A REUTER'S cablegram gives the following summary of some portions of an article on the British war effort in the *Westminster Gazette*:

If ever there was another such war, we should begin by commandeering the services of all citizens and making those who were not fighting perform other state services for wages fixed on a scale that would suspend profits or reduce them to a minimum. This complete collectivism of national effort is the logical conclusion of modern wars. Men between forty and fifty have discovered suddenly that the service they thought quite natural and proper for their juniors is also required of them while men between fifty and sixty see themselves not far removed from liability which never entered the wildest imaginations four years ago.

Taxes will be imposed which four years ago we would have thought impossible to pay. People, who live in big houses, will have to let or leave them and take smaller ones. Homes will have to be broken up and furniture stored. As regards domestic servants the Munitions Department has already taken half and the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps will want a good many of the remainder. Moreover by a big compulsory cutting down of light and coal houses are being desolated; hence middle-class England has seriously to face a new way of life and many thousands more will have to face it after the coming budget.

The "*Westminster Gazette*" mentions these things without the slightest complaint and concludes: "We now have to realise that the whole of our lives will

have to be rationed and that there is no sacrifice of comfort or convenience which the State is not entitled to demand of us."

But it is not merely the sacrifice of comfort or convenience that the continuation of a state of war or the predominance of militarism involves. Militarism leads to the moral and spiritual degeneration of the peoples who are subject to its sway. It blunts all humane feelings and sensibilities and digs the grave of civilisation. One or two illustrations will suffice. It was at first only the Germans who used poisonous gas and bombed non-combatants like women, children and other members of the civil population. But now other belligerents have to use gas in self-defence and to raid villages and towns in the enemy country by way of reprisal. The starvation of the civilian population is also now a recognised method of warfare.

As regards the new interpretation of the gospel of Jesus Christ which the war has brought about, we have, to quote only one example, the following testimony of Mr. Outhwaite, speaking in the House of Commons:—

"The Venerable Archdeacon Wilberforce, who read the prayers in the House, preaching in St. Margaret's Church at the beginning of the war, said: 'To kill Germans in a divine service in the fullest acceptance of the term.'..... A leading minister in his division had said that if Christ came to the world to-day he would expect to see Him using a bayonet." (Quoted from *Hansard* of January 20, 1916, in Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson's "*The Choice Before us*," p. 32.)

In the book just named above, which was written before the Russian revolution and the declaration of war by the United States, Mr. Dickinson describes briefly the prospect before the world, if the armed international anarchy is to continue, and to be extended and exasperated, after the war. He analyses and discusses the pre-suppositions which underlie Militarism. And having argued both that international war as it will be conducted in the future implies the ruin of civilization, and that it is not "inevitable," he sketches the kind of reorganisation that is both possible and essential if war is not to destroy mankind. We shall summarise the author's views as to the future of militarism.

He has not discussed the origin or justification of the present war, nor the participation in it of Great Britain. As a matter of fact, he agrees with the general view that, after the invasion of Belgium, it would have been neither right nor wise for the British people to abstain. His view is that whatever may be thought of the immediate origin of the war, it cannot be dissociated from all the deeper causes which have led to wars in the past and may lead to them in the future; and it is these with which he deals. He argues that war proceeds from wrong ideas and wrong policies; that in these ideas and policies all nations have been implicated; and that this war will have been fought in vain unless it leads to a change of attitude in all governments and all peoples. This change, the author agrees, is most required in Germany, and may be most difficult to effect there. But there are, he holds, in all countries, traditions, interests, prejudices and illusions making for war, and it is these that he has endeavoured to expose.

Our own conviction is that no kind of international understandings and arrangements, like a League of Nations, International Laws, etc., will be of any avail to

prevent future wars on a titanic scale, unless there is a change of heart, and unless the conviction is rooted in the minds of men that things of the spirit are of far greater value than accumulation of material wealth and luxuries. The peoples of the worlds must be convinced that love and co-operation are greater than hate and murderous competition and that the salvation of mankind will be brought about by the former, not by the latter. The highest ethical standard so far reached in civilised countries, to which the individual is expected to conform, must also exactly be the standard to which nations must conform in their dealings with other nations particularly with weak, dependent, unorganised, backward, or "coloured" peoples. It must be considered as heinous a crime to rob or enslave a people as it is to rob or enslave an individual. The lies of diplomats and all "patriotic" forgeries, breaches of promise, and fraud should be considered as reprehensible as they are in the case of private individuals. The idea must cease to obsess the minds of "civilised" and "strong" peoples that other peoples of the world are their lawful prey. It is then and then only that international agreements and arrangements, like those suggested by the author, can produce the results desired.

Militarism, according to the author, is at once a state of mind and a military and political system.

"On the one hand, it is a belief that war is both inevitable and wholesome—the notion that it is wholesome fostering the notion that it is inevitable, and vice versa. On the other hand, it is a system whereby every citizen is compelled to military service, whereby a large and powerful class of military officers influences or dominates policy, and whereby education is directed by the State to a glorification of war. So conceived, it is clear that Militarism is more perfectly developed in Germany than anywhere else. But in other countries, too, it is both partially a fact and potentially a danger."

And the author argues that nothing but a complete and radical reform in international relations can prevent the danger from becoming a reality.

"For Militarism does not arise without cause. Its main cause is the menace of war. And that menace grows continually more terrible as preparation for war, in all States, becomes more effective. Nations do not choose Militarism. It is forced upon them. And if, when this war is over, the conditions that led up to it are to be perpetuated, Militarism is likely not only to be maintained and exasperated on the Continent, but to be introduced into the United Kingdom, the United States, and China ["into

* *The Choice Before us*, by G. Lowes Dickinson, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 6s. net.

India, too," we may add. Ed. M. R. J. In Japan it already prevails. The fact that men have died by millions to destroy it will have no effect on this result, unless in all countries, those who have leisure and knowledge deliberately plan and work for a durable peace."

It will not, the author hopes, be inferred that because he condemns war uncompromisingly, he therefore condemns those who take part in it.

"Nothing can be further from my thought. Too many of my own friends have fought and died, or are yet to die, in this war. I do not praise them, for I have no right to praise what is above praise. I have wished to do better than praise. I have wished to contribute to a future in which such sacrifices as theirs shall never again be required. I have wished to destroy the errors which perpetuate error. And if I have succeeded, in any smallest measure, in that, I shall have helped the young men I have loved and admired to the purpose for which they have fought and died."

The author says that the political relations of the European States have consisted for centuries past of war and preparation for war.

"In the present war, this practice has culminated in a catastrophe which, it might seem, must lead to a reaction. Perhaps it may. But it certainly will not do so, unless it be by a deliberate and conscious change in the ideas and the wills of men. Meantime people already talk of the 'next war.' It is therefore important to make some forecast of what kind of a war that is likely to be, and, more generally, what kind of a future the continuation and extension of militarism would prepare for mankind."

Mr. Dickinson then summarises the Russian general Skugarewski's forecast of the next war, which was reproduced from *Russkoe Slovo* in the Russian Supplement to the *Times* of July 29, 1916. Russia was not then dismembered and reduced to anarchy. What, therefore, the general said regarding the preparations that might be required to be made by Russia for the next war, would not now be true of that country, but they would still furnish an idea of what must take place in all powerful countries under a militarist regime.

The Russian general anticipates the next war in ten or twenty years, if Germany is not "conclusively conquered."

He starts by remarking that every war he can remember, beginning from the Crimean War, was an unprecedented war; and his moral is that "humanity must at last learn how to prepare for war." "In the future struggle of nations all men capable of bearing arms will be taken into the ranks of the nation's armies, and for them everything will be ready in peace-time." This will mean that Russia will have an army of forty millions and Germany of twenty millions. For an army of forty million men three hundred thousand officers will be required. To secure

them "it will be necessary to introduce conscription for officers; all young men who have received not even complete middle-school education will be obliged to serve as officers." Further, it will be necessary to replace, so far as possible, by women the men who under existing arrangements are kept in the rear by non-combatant duties. Perhaps therefore "it will be necessary to introduce conscription for girls and childless widows, so that more men can be sent to the front." As to armaments, "there will be required for such an army one hundred thousand guns, a million maxims, tens of thousands of motor-cars, armoured, freight, and light cars. By the beginning of the war at least fifty million gun-projectiles must be prepared, and five thousand million rifle cartridges. Besides machine-gun detachments, each company of a regiment will have its portable machine guns on light stands." Aviation, of course, "will receive special development." "It is clear that in ten to twenty years every state will reckon the number of its dirigibles in thousands and the number of its aeroplanes in tens, if not hundreds of thousands. The dropping of shells from above on to large stretches of country will be extensively practised. And if the laws of war permit the application of inflammable materials and substances for the development of poisonous gases, then the raids of aerial flotillas will instantly convert large districts of several square versts into complete deserts where every vestige of animal and vegetable life will be slain and where large units of armies will be annihilated to a single man." The range of guns will be enormously increased and "perhaps Dover will be shelled from Calais." The general proceeds to estimate the cost of such a war at twenty millions [thirty crores of rupees] a day. The peace establishment of Russia will cost a hundred millions a year.

"Besides the existing material conscriptions, it may perhaps be necessary to introduce conscription for grain, meat, and fodder. All industrial establishments—mills, factories, workshops, even handicraftsmen—on declaration of war will have to work for the army in accordance with a special plan of mobilization." In short, "expedients for the extermination of humanity will be of such a nature that everything of which we hear nowadays will pale in comparison. The number of killed will be reckoned by millions, of wounded by tens of millions."

Mr. Dickinson assures his readers that the above is not a romance by Mr. H. G. Wells. It is, he says, a very sober description, certainly not overdrawn, of what is likely to occur in that "next war" to which so many people are already looking forward. The author then proceeds to give his forecast as to the probable methods of future warfare.

It is as probable as anything can be that these will be of a kind which will make the worst that has been done in this war seem by comparison like humanity and kindness. Not only will every weapon that has been used in this war be employed in the next, except those that have been rendered obsolete by the invention of worse ones, but science will have discovered new and far more destructive means of murder. We have long applied chemistry to war; but we have not begun to apply bacteriology. In the future, the deliberate spread of lethal diseases among the enemy is likely to be a principal and

recognized method of destruction. Further, the war will be waged, without any restriction, on non-combatants. Already a German professor has written a book to show that this is permitted by the "new" law of nations, created by the experiences of this war. And, of course, the logic of war is in favour of it. For a munition-worker, or a producer of any kind, is just as much helping the enemy to win the war as a soldier at the front.

We must therefore expect that in any future war any and every weapon of extermination will be used freely against non-combatants as well as combatants. Rules of war may be drawn up to prevent this. But the issues of a modern war are so tremendous, that such rules are likely to break at the first tension put upon them. One combatant succumbs to one temptation, another to another. Each breach of the law by one is followed by breaches by the others, under guise of reprisals. Neither religion, morals, nor humanity have availed to arrest this process in the present war. Why should we suppose they will be more potent in the future?

Mr. Dickinson rightly points out that destruction by war does not end with the lives of the immediate sufferers; every man of sound stock who is killed childless extinguishes with himself whole generations. And it is the sound that are killed in war and the unsound preserved, for it is the sound that are selected to go to the front. But the havoc that is wrought is not wrought by killing alone. Among the surviving men and women, the conditions of war tend to disseminate over wider and wider areas venereal and other diseases, and this again reacts upon the stock. "So that, whoever wins or loses the war, winners and losers alike have impaired irretrievably the strength of their nation. War may preserve liberty for posterity, but it is a posterity weakened and enfeebled that will enjoy it."

War, then, means not merely the destruction of the best among the living, but an irreparable impoverishment of the race; and that on a scale proportional to the scale of the war. But the scale of modern wars is world-wide. So, therefore, is the impoverishment. War is a way of racial suicide. Soldiers and statesmen do not think of such remote effects; but they do not cease to happen because they are not thought of. And in comparison with them victory or defeat, and the other results of war, are negligible in the balance.

The author now turns from the biological to the social effects of war. When in any country, there is no reign of law, but brute force is in the ascendant and consequently plunder, rapine and murder prevail we call it anarchy. Similarly, when, as at present, in international relations might is considered to constitute right, one is justified in calling it, as the author does, international anarchy. And he observes that war implies preparation for war, and

if the international anarchy is to continue so that states are compelled to arm against one another, each driving on each to ever more tremendous efforts, there can be no pause in the process and no limit to it. He therefore thinks that we have no right to dismiss as improbable, still less as impossible, any extremity that lies in the logic of the movement. Hence he develops that logic to the full without shrinking.

In doing so, he says:

First, universal service will be introduced as a permanent institution into the countries that have hitherto escaped it, and it is probable that it will be organized on the complete Prussian model.....

Secondly, whatever organization be adopted for an army, however short the period to be spent in barracks, however democratic the method of recruiting and promotion, it does not seem possible that a force on the modern scale of numbers and efficiency could be maintained without the aid of a very large class of professional officers, and without giving to these a large measure of social prestige and political influence. The British tradition whereby the officer rarely appears in uniform, and is not felt in time of peace as an element in society or in politics, must disappear, it would seem, with the permanent adoption of universal service. The more numerous, highly trained, and intelligent the officer caste, the more influential they will become. And as they will be trained exclusively for war, and will regard war both as their own sole business and as the sole business of the nation, they are not likely to abstain from bringing their influence to bear upon foreign policy. But such political influence of an officer caste is precisely one of the most important elements in militarism. And the moment officers begin to wear uniforms in time of peace will be the moment when militarism starts to run its course in England.

The author expresses the opinion that whatever form of military organization be adopted, we shall have everywhere universal service; and that, as General Skugarewski foresees, on a scale hitherto unknown in history. Every man between the ages of 17 and 50 will be liable to military service. Boys under 17 will have compulsory "preliminary training" as boy scouts, in officers' training corps, and the like. Women and girls will be enrolled for the various non-combatant services—unless indeed, which is quite possible, it be decided to raise combatant corps of amazons.

In any case, the question of the fitness of people for military service, in character or temperament or conviction, will not enter into consideration. In the past, in pagan societies—ancient India, for example, or Japan—men were selected as soldiers by their own choice or by hereditary aptitude. In the twentieth century of Him who came to bring peace among mankind, we do not hesitate to compel all men into the army without reference to their aptitude or choice, and in defiance of their moral, religious, or political scruples. Thus as conscription extends so does the necessity of persecution. And if inter-

national war is to continue, persecution will be established as an institution in all countries.

After the men (and the women it may be) have been forced into the army, the next thing will be to train them. The object of military training was once summed up as follows by a military officer:

"The one object of a military system is to overcome a man's natural reluctance to kill and to be killed. To accomplish this we have three devices. The first is to make the soldier more afraid of his own officers than he is of the enemy. The second is to convert him into an automaton by perpetual drill, so that he obeys instinctively every order given without any intervention of his own choice or will. The third device is a just cause."

Politicians can easily find or invent just causes, as they have hitherto done.

For making a nation efficient for war, their religious and moral training will be much more important than conscripting the whole population, training them in the use of any and every weapon, and destroying the reluctance to kill and to be killed as also any squeamishness as to methods of killing. "The soul as well as the body of a good soldier must be militarized," and for this purpose a new direction must be given to the religion or religions of the people.

"The real religion of the future, if war is to continue, will be the religion of the God-State; for the essential requirement will be an unquestioning submission to the will of the State. It is this that has given such moral strength to the Germans in the present war; and the fact will be noted and its lesson applied by other nations.

"The essence of this religion, stated without compromise or qualification, is as follows: The State is the purpose and end for which individuals come into existence. It is a god, and, like other gods, it is mysterious. Its nature is unknowable and undefinable.....The State is something supernatural. It is not the sum of its members. It is not their trend, their purpose, or their impulse. It works through governmental agents, who may be called its priests. But it is not they. It works upon the people, but it is not they. Neither their happiness nor their well-being, nor even the well-being of the Government, is its purpose. Its purpose is its own Being and Power. It has, in fact, one point of contact with its worshippers: it demands their sacrifice to itself. A sacrifice complete, unreserved, unquestioning; a sacrifice not only of their lives (that is little) but of their most profound instincts, their most passionate feelings, their deepest convictions. They must have no conscience but its, no cause but its. They must be its slaves, not body only, but mind and soul. They are nothing; it is all."

Mr. Dickinson says that he is aware that this expression of the militarist theory of the State will be repudiated, even by Germans. But though they do not so express it, they imply, he asserts,

all that has been expressed here, though they may be unaware of the implications. "Not only so, but much that is said and thought in other countries, not excluding England, really involves the same presuppositions. If the process of militarizing the world continues, this religion of the State will more and more drive out every other. Other countries, in this respect, will follow the lead of Germany. And the philosophy we have been repudiating as devilish because Germany was our enemy, we shall end by adopting ourselves in order to be the better prepared to fight her." We may expect that, in a militarist future, this doctrine of the God-State, in essence if not in set terms, will be taught in every school, college, university, and pulpit.

"Thus, both before and after the period of actual military training, the citizen will be prepared and confirmed for his main business in life by every form of spiritual exhortation. Education will mean training for war. The effort to teach men to think and judge for themselves will be eliminated. For nothing could be more directly opposed than this to the cult of the State and of war. That cult requires what is rather a discipline than an education. The student must be taught dogmatically what the purposes of life are; not permitted, still less encouraged, to examine the question for himself. He must be taught from infancy up, that he came into the world to sacrifice himself in war; that the reason of this is a mystery; and that into that mystery it is blasphemy and pride for the human reason to pry."

After this Mr. Dickinson proceeds to observe that in a militarist country the religion of the God-State will require a different code of morals to that which has hitherto been professed by Christians. "Pity, gentleness, charity, must not merely not be practised, they must be branded as crimes against the social order; the practical lessons in brutality which will form the main part of military training must be reinforced by preaching, teaching and example at every stage of life: and for the cult of humanity which has increasingly prevailed in democratic societies we must substitute the Nietzschean formula. 'Be hard.'"

In the militarist age the new religion and the new ethics must be accompanied by a new development of scientific teaching. For science will be more necessary than ever in the strenuous competition that lies before us. It will be necessary for industry, and, above all, it will be necessary for war. The nation, we shall be told, that is most successful in inventing new methods of destruction will be the

nation that will "survive." In the militarist age and countries, whenever there emerges, in any generous young soul, the passion for truth and the genius for discovery, he will be seized upon by society and urged, nay compelled, to devote his idealism not to the perfecting but to the destruction of human life. The perversion of the intellect will follow from the perversion of the soul. And reason, distorted from its trend to comprehend truth and serve mankind, will become more devilish than ever mere bestiality could be, and make of man something as infinitely lower than the brutes as he had it in him to be infinitely higher.

Militarism, if allowed to prevail, will transform not only religion, ethics and education, but political institutions also. Democracy is a bad medium for war, and that for various reasons. Democracy is hard to discipline, and without discipline there cannot be military efficiency. Democracy is averse from, and perhaps incapable of, policies looking far ahead; but war, and the policies war subserves, require long views. It is not without

reason that, even in democratic countries, foreign policy, and the military and naval policy which is its handmaid, have been withdrawn as far as possible from popular control. But even that has not sufficed. The democracies have not been able to prepare for war with the deliberation and thoroughness of the autocracies. How immense has been and is the technical superiority of the autocracies!

"The connexion between war and autoeracy is essential. We see it immediately when we are actually at war. Thus, during the last two years we have abandoned to the Executive liberty of person and of speech. We have sat still and watched while a Government department abolished the Habeas Corpus Act. We have re-introduced religious persecution, and condemned young men to death and sent them to penal servitude for obeying their consciences; and we have permitted the military authorities to take charge not only of the policing of the country, but of the expression and formation of opinion. Democrats no doubt flatter themselves that they will recover their liberties and their constitution after the war. But whether they will or no the international anarchy is to continue. If it is, the nation will be cajoled and bullied to sacrifice its political liberty to the need of national defence." "Let the international anarchy and international war continue, and there is an end of political liberty."

NOTES

"Divide et impera" and National Unification.

In Henrik Ibsen's *Pretenders*, two rival claimants to the throne, Haakon and Skule, fight with each other. But before they do so, they meet, and the following conversation takes place:

Skule: If the king is to have power in his hands, one party must be opposed to another, their claims must be conflicting, each section of the country must be striving against the others. Every community, every family, must either stand in need of the king's help, or be afraid of him. Remove all dissension, and you will find you have robbed yourself of power by that very act.

Haakon: And you want to be king—you, who can hold such an opinion as that? You might have made a useful chieftain in Erling Skakki's day; but times have changed since then, and you cannot perceive it..... I mean to give my country consecration; Norway has been a kingdom; it shall be a nation! The Trønder heretofore has fought with the man of Viken, the man of Agde with the man of Hordaland, the Haalogalander with the man of Sogu, hereafter

all shall be one, and all shall be conscious of it and know that they are one! That is the task God has laid upon my shoulders; that is the work that lies before Norway's King.....

Skule (impressed by his words): To unite—? Unite the Trønder and the man of Viken—all Norway—? (*Incredulously*) It is impracticable. Never was such a thing heard of in Norway's saga.

Haakon: Impracticable for you, because you could do nothing but repeat what has been done before, but for me it is easy—as easy as for a falcon to pierce the clouds.

Skule (uneasily): To unite the whole of the people—awaken in them the consciousness that they are one! Whence did so strange a thought come to you? It is like ice and fire in my veins..... (*later on*) "Norway has been a kingdom; it shall be a nation. All shall be one, and all shall be conscious of it and know that they are one!" Ever since Haakon spoke these mad words, he has stood before my eyes as the rightful king. (*Looks anxiously around him and whispers.*) How if those strange words reflected the voice of God?—if God had had this in His mind heretofore, and now purposed to strew it abroad—and had chosen Haakon as his sower?

In the end, Skule allows himself to be

murdered by the populace in order to leave the path free to Haakon, to carry out his 'great kingly thought.'

The Real Task for Leaders of Public Opinion.

In Ibsen's *Rosmersholm*, Kroll, the headmaster of a public school, and his brother-in-law Rosmer, a scholar of independent means, belong to rival schools of thought. Kroll is a conservative, and declaims against 'the spirit of the age,' 'this appalling, destructive, disorganising tendency' and complains to his brother-in-law that 'the Radicals have become distressingly powerful,' and that 'the spirit of revolt has spread even into my school'. He adds :—

"Don't you think that it is a nice sort of intellectual pabulum for future public servants? But the saddest part of it is that it is all the most promising boys in the class that have conspired together and hatched this plot against me. It is only the duffers and dunces that have held aloof from it."

Later on the following conversation takes place between them :

Rosmer : It is just for that reason that I have made up my mind as to what should be the real task of public opinion.

Kroll : What task ?

Rosmer : The task of making all our fellow-countrymen into men of nobility.

Kroll : All our fellow-countrymen—!

Rosmer : As many as possible, at all events.

Kroll : By what means ?

Rosmer : By emancipating their ideas and purifying their aspirations, it seems to me.

The Value of Imperialism.

The chapter on Foreign and Imperial Affairs in the little book on *Conservatism* by Lord Hugh Cecil, M. P., in the Home University Library Series, is full of lessons for us Indians, as it shows the true British attitude on the subject on the eve of the war, though during the war a new 'angle of vision' is supposed to have changed the aspect of things. The author says :

"Conservative policy in foreign and imperial affairs has been largely adopted by the leaders of the Liberal party, and except in so far as fiscal [Tariff Reform] controversies are concerned, the external affairs of the nation are no longer topics of distinctly partisan dispute."

National existence, "according to the author, "means the capacity to fulfil the national vocation." "Our vocation in the world has been to undertake the government of vast uncivilised populations and to raise them gradually to a higher level

of life." And this high-sounding plea is thus sought to be justified :

"It is the duty of a nation, even more clearly than of an individual, to use its talents and powers to the utmost. To shrink from great responsibilities, to hesitate to incur great sacrifices for national objects, is in truth to wrap our talent in a napkin out of cowardly scruple. It is to fail to respond to vocation. It is right for a nation to be great and to wish to be great, to resist diminution of its power, and to organise that power so as to make it as effectual for good as it can be made."

It is just this argument which Indians want to apply in their case, but the Imperialists have ever been chary in allowing the Indians 'to respond to vocation' even in their own country, or is it that Indians are vocationless, or their vocation is that of the eternal hewer of wood and drawer of water? After deploring the fact that the Dominions "are too detached to be thought of, even in a metaphor, as part of the same organism," and assuring them that the British people "want also that all citizens of our race, in whatever part of the king's dominions they may live, shall be equally sharers in the great inheritance of free self-government," the author proceeds to lay down the main object of 'imperial' union—viz., the perpetuation of the subjection of the dependencies, which now emerges as the 'national vocation'. "It is important to remember," says the writer, "that a main purpose of uniting the Empire is to organise it for war and what belongs to war, for the foreign policy that leads up to war, and for the armaments and other means of defence that are necessary for carrying war on."

It is in respect to our relations to foreign countries and to our dependencies that we feel principally the lack of imperial union and the consequent difficulty of fulfilling our national vocation as a single people. Organised unitedly for war, we should have the machinery which would be also available for carrying out any imperial policy within the dependencies of the empire."

Monarchy and Loyalty.

The same writer's views on the value of the monarchical institution from the Imperialist standpoint, and on the decay of the feeling of loyalty deserve consideration.

"Imperialists, moreover, look to the monarchy as to the only part of our constitution that extends over the whole Empire, and value it as the only positive link, apart from sentiment, which holds the whole together.....amidst the countless multitudes of India and throughout the dependent provinces and islands scattered over the globe, one British

name is everywhere revered, one person receives the common homage of the entire vast dominion..... The monarchy is certainly a great symbol, but is it a great force? Undoubtedly since Queen Victoria first ascended the throne there has been a tendency, deliberately adopted and even avowed, to withdraw the person of the sovereign from all criticism, and therefore from all controversy..... And if over a long series of years the sovereign takes no share in public quarrels, his office may decline into something purely ceremonial, the splendid centre of all national pageants, but exciting only the temperate interest and half-respectful pleasure which men feel for a stately show.....the danger of the monarchy becoming discredited as an inoperative ornament and sinking slowly from being the centre of loyalty to be received, first with good-natured toleration and finally with impatient contempt, is perhaps now the more real menace."

The remedy, from the monarchist's point of view, lies in the king having more power and taking more active and determining part in public affairs.

The Fate of Asiatic Turkey.

The *London Nation* thus comments on Mr. Lloyd George's peace terms, so far as they relate to Turkey in Asia. It will be seen that the *Nation* is somewhat sceptical about the humanitarian motives of British statesmen, and alleges other reasons for the Prime Minister's demand :

Mr. George has stated it in vague but trenchant terms. He will not say as yet what is to happen to Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia. But he does say emphatically that they must not return to Turkish "sovereignty." The use of that word may imply a demand for their cession.

What reasons underlie so large a demand? They are primarily strategical and economic, and only in the third place humanitarian. Unless the "road to India" lay across and round this country, unless it included wealthy soil, capable, with good administration and skilled engineering, of producing much cotton, corn and oil, would it have been the subject of a claim so uncompromising? There is, as we have said, virtually no Christian population in need of rescue. The mass of the population is Moslem. On the whole we believe it is still true to say that the Arabs do not think in terms of nationality in the Western sense.

There is no pact here which imposes on us the duty to go crusading for nationality, and if we did, it is more than doubtful whether the result, with the inevitable influx of Western capital and probably also of Eastern coolie labor, would answer to any Arab ideal.

But if the compelling motive be strategical, it is at variance with our other professions and aims. If we mean to cope with the danger of future war by a League of Nations and disarmament, these attempts to create a war-proof world by adjusting frontiers are obsolete. The world will be tempted to disbelieve in our true cures for war if we add these nostrums.

Criminals and War.

So far as their own country is concerned, the British people are learning many a

lesson from the war. They recognise that criminals can become and ought to be made useful members of society. In India criminals *evolve* and would seem sometimes to be created in order that there may be work for the police and our budgets may become more and more police budgets. But let us hear what advanced British thinkers have to say regarding criminals and dunces.

"Recent educational experiments, and not least that most testing of all school examinations, the war, have shown us that we must revise all our old notions as to cleverness and stupidity. We know now that, short of real mental deficiency, there is or ought to be no such personage as the dunce. Just as the criminal is generally a man of unusual energy and mental power directed into wrong channels, so the dunce is a pupil whose special powers and aptitudes have not revealed themselves in the routine of school life. And just as the criminal points to serious defects in our social system, so the dunce points to serious defects in our educational system. The striking record of our industrial schools and reformatories in the war shows what young criminals and dunces can do when they are given a fair field for their special gifts. One of the chief lessons to be drawn from the war is the need for a new spirit and outlook in our national education from the elementary school to the University."—*Progress and History*, Oxford University Press, 1917, pages 206-7.

Is More Repression Contemplated?

A rumour has reached us that a majority of the members of the Rowlatt Committee have recommended legislation similar to the Egyptian Suspects Law of 1909. According to this Law, we understand, a list is prepared of from 60 to 80 officials and non-officials, and the papers relating to a suspect are placed before four of them chosen by lot. Evidently there is no trial and no taking of evidence. The suspect is deprived of liberty and placed under restraint, if the aforesaid four persons so advise.

It is also said that the Rowlatt Committee have suggested that confessions made before the police should be made admissible as evidence, and that more powers should be given to the police.

Should these rumours be true and should Government accept such recommendations, the bureaucracy must be prepared for a very vehement and stiff opposition. Such legislation may create more revolutionaries than it may put down. We cannot and ought not to submit to police rule. The Civil Rights Committees have a clear duty in the matter.

The Budget Season.

The Imperial and Provincial Budgets were placed before the legislative councils and amendments were moved and speeches were made on them some weeks ago. Many resolutions, some connected and some unconnected with the Budgets, were also moved and speeches were made on them. Then there were the discussions on new legislation. There were, besides, numerous interpellations and the official replies. All this represents a mass of reading which it is impossible for any single journalist to go through and digest. In fact it may be said that there is no Indian journalist who has had all this material at his disposal. There is not a single daily paper which even attempts to give a *complete* report or summary of the proceedings of the Imperial legislative council and of those of the council of the province where the paper is published. No single paper can possibly attempt to report the proceedings of all the councils, imperial and provincial. Yet, it admits of no doubt that, if published, these proceedings would supply the public with much useful information and much instructive and interesting reading on political, economical, sanitary and educational matters. Not that all the speeches are very valuable, or that all the speeches of the best speakers reach the same high level. But it is unquestionable that the information, ability and wisdom displayed by our representatives in the councils can stand comparison with what one finds in similar bodies in other countries. One cannot but wonder that the speeches at all reach the level that they do when one bears in mind that the speakers generally play a losing game and that they generally do not expect to achieve any success. Under the circumstances one cannot but admire and respect the earnestness which the speakers bring to bear on the discussions, though one cannot at the same time help being saddened by the thought that so much hard work is done generally to produce what at the best can be called only moral effect and to gain what at the best can be called a moral victory. One also cannot but speculate whether it would not have been altogether better if all the able and earnest men who spend their energies in the councils in knocking their heads against the dead wall

of an arrogant, irresponsible and irresponsible bureaucracy, had devoted their time, talents and energy to endeavours in fields of service to the motherland where the fruits of labour are far more within the reach of the workers, and whether, apart from their direct results, such endeavours would not have indirectly produced greater solidarity and unity among our people and enabled us to win self-rule within a shorter period than by the methods hitherto in vogue. Perhaps that would have given us more confidence, too, in our worth and capacity. But such speculation is, for our present purposes, a digression. We cannot but admire the unquenchable optimism and the splendid persistence with which many members work from year to year against heavy odds, trying always to combat a depressing feeling of failure. Our only regret is that the results of their industry, ability and wisdom are practically lost to the public. The daily papers do not publish even good summaries of all the speeches. The art of reporting would seem to be still in its infancy in India, and it is also no doubt true that the papers conducted in Indian interests are too poor to be able to pay for good and complete reporting. They are not able to keep an adequate staff which would enable them to publish well-digested accounts of what take place in the councils. Not to speak of the provincial councils, there is no *Hansard* for even the Imperial Council. The official *Gazettes* publish complete reports of the proceedings of council meetings, *minus* some statements laid on the table, but only after some time has elapsed; but these *Gazettes* are supplied neither to all newspapers nor even to all the most important. Some newspapers publish the speeches of only those members who have influence over or can gain the favour of the editorial staff. And speaking generally, only those questions and answers and resolutions which are of a sensational character find their way into the papers, others of a more substantial character being left out of consideration. All this means a loss to the public.

Speaking for ourselves, we must confess our complete inability and want of resources to cope with the avalanches of material which even the daily papers place before us. This *Review* is in theory and intention an All-India Journal. But we are aware that in no year and no month have we been

able to deal with even the most important questions which affect the whole of India and with those which affect each province. It is impossible to do it single-handed, and perhaps within the life-time of the present editor it will not be possible to secure the services of an adequate staff. We must, therefore, be content with presenting the reader with our ideal, and ask him to accept the earnest desire for the deed.

Suggested Exploitation by British Women.

In the paragraph printed below the *Servant of India* draws attention to a real cause of anxiety.

The self-sufficiency of the Britisher is proverbial. He considers himself a 'superior person' and is always conscious of it. He thinks he must bear the 'white man's burden' at all places and in all circumstances. It would appear that now the British woman is peeping out upon the scene and preparing to share the 'burden'. Last week the *Times of India* adumbrated the idea of a Women's Imperial Service which, we must own, fills us with grave apprehensions. In addition to the recently formed Women's Indian Medical Service and the Indian Educational Service, the *Times* unfolds a long list of careers for English girls as to "welfare workers, English Advisers to various Samaj and social service movements, factory inspectresses, health visitors, &c." Instead of opportunities for service to the Empire, we are inclined to regard these in the light of fat jobs for average English girls and as such we should like to warn public men in India to be on their guard in this matter. Valuable guidance and advice we want from all quarters and we are ready to pay for them. But we do not want an indifferent article and to be called upon to pay an extravagant price for it, as is likely if the above scheme is put into operation. We have had exploitation enough in the past by British men. Now the British women seem to cherish the desire to have a hand in the game.

The U. P. Government have made it known that they will grant certificates to British officers' wives who are able to pass an examination in a vernacular. If British women learn our vernaculars, they can mix with Indian women and have a real knowledge of our society. This may have a beneficial effect when Indians have the same political status as Englishmen. At present a knowledge of the vernaculars will enable British women in India to effect a social conquest of Indian women and to exploit India, in the same way as British men have effected a social conquest of Indian men and are exploiting India.

"Bringing India into Line with the Rest of the Empire."

The Indian Daily News writes :

The appeal of Mr. Lloyd George has been construed in certain quarters into an appeal to India to

come to the rescue of the British Empire. In other interested quarters pains have been taken to impress upon the public the idea that an immediate invasion of India by the Huns is in prospect. Whether those responsible for conveying these ideas are really honest in this belief we cannot say, but Rulers of provinces and the leading Anglo-Indian newspapers have considered the misleading statements of sufficient importance to demand prompt denial. As we pointed out more than a week ago in these columns, the appeal of Mr. Lloyd George was addressed to the British Dominions and possessions generally, and the necessity for united endeavour and concentration was sought to be impressed upon every country and every people who owed allegiance to the British flag. The response from all the Dominions has been immediate, and the Conferences that are to be held at Delhi and Calcutta are for the purpose of bringing India into line with the rest of the Empire.

If India had self-government like the self-ruling Dominions, she could be reasonably expected to come into line with the rest of the Empire. It is only want of imagination and supreme self-righteousness which can demand equal sacrifice without at first granting equal rights. Sacrifice implies genuine enthusiasm, and equal enthusiasm can spring only from equality of status. India cannot be brought into line with the rest of the Empire only as regards her responsibilities. She must at first also have exactly the same rights, privileges and advantages as the self-ruling portions of the Empire. It has been and may be said that the British people are too pre-occupied with the war to attend to Indian affairs. But evidently they are not too pre-occupied to demand sacrifice on the part of India. So they ought also to have time to reflect how India can be made as enthusiastic and able to make sacrifices as is desired. Whenever we raise the question of our rights, we are twitted with "bargaining." But to seek freedom can *under no circumstances* be spoken of as bargaining, as it is every man's birth-right. But suppose we do bargain. Bargaining is neither sinful nor criminal. The British people are famous bargainers even in politics and patriotism. And Anglo-Indians are here in pursuit of worldly advantage, which is another name for bargaining. 25-4-1918.

"Struggle for the Liberty of the World."

The Pioneer asks :

"Is it too much to ask even Indian politicians that they should postpone their ambitions for a season and throw

themselves heart and soul into the struggle for the liberty of the world?"

We suggest the following emended form:

"Is it too much to ask even Indian politicians that they should postpone their ambitions for an *indefinite period* and throw themselves heart and soul into the struggle for the liberty of the *World-minus-India*?"

The Pioneer has certainly read the following cablegram:

The Nationalist members of the House of Commons in Dublin presided over by Mr. Dillon decided to remain in Ireland and organise an opposition to Conscription.

Fifteen hundred Trade Union delegates meeting in Dublin Mansion House pledged themselves to resist Conscription and fixed April 23rd as the day of stoppage of all work to enable the workers to sign the pledge.

Masses and services of intercession are being held to avert Conscription.—"Reuter."

Will the Allahabad Anglo-Indian editor put his question to Mr. Dillon and other Irish Nationalists?

"Taking Advantage of England's Calamity."

Some Anglo-Indians and other Englishmen seem to think that the Indian movement for obtaining, not complete, but some degree of political freedom is an attempt to take advantage of England's calamity. This is not true. The Indian self-rule movement was inaugurated long before the commencement of the present European war. Even the expression "Indian Home Rule" had begun to be used as early as the year 1907. But chronology apart, let us see what the movement stands for, and whether it aims at gaining anything at the expense of or by weakening England.

What India wants is freedom. India's freedom does not mean the enslavement of England. So what India would gain would not mean any loss to England,—it would not be at the expense of England. A free India would, on the contrary, enable Englishmen to be freer than they are and would make them sincerely liberty-loving. Autocrats and bureaucrats abroad cannot long remain democrats at home. England's despotic rule in India, however benevolent it may be claimed to be, has already leavened the British character for the worse. Englishmen cannot, therefore, be really free unless they help India to be free; nor can they

sincerely profess to be liberty-loving so long as Indians are not enfranchised. These considerations make it clear that the Indian self-rule movement has the tendency to make the British people morally better and greater.

Materially, too, it does not intend to weaken or impoverish England. India does not want to cut herself off from the British Empire, she wants to remain a free and equal partner in it. Even as a dependency, she has been of greater help to the Empire during the war than all the self-governing dominions put together. Had she been self-governing she would have been richer and far more able to render assistance than she is. Her available man-power would also have been greater; for in a self-ruling India, the population would not have been in a crushed and emasculated condition. Even now, India, given the small measure of freedom she seeks, would not place less men and other resources at the disposal of the Empire than she would otherwise do.

True a self-ruling India would eventually, but not immediately, mean the loss of many highly paid posts now held by Englishmen. But this loss of income to the British people would be more than compensated in other ways. A self-ruling India would pay far greater attention to the development of the material resources of the country than now. For years to come, it would be necessary for us to import machinery, experts, and skilled labour for our industrial enterprises. Should Great Britain be able to supply even a considerable proportion of these men and materials, she would be an immense gainer thereby. It might be urged that if Indians began to supply their own wants by manufacturing them themselves and engaging in the import and export trade themselves, that would mean loss to the British manufacturers and British and Anglo-Indian merchants. It certainly would. But there would be an important compensating advantage which might more than make up for the loss. However large a country and whatever the range of its climate and the variety and extent of its resources, it cannot produce everything it requires. It must import some of its necessities, comforts and luxuries from foreign countries. The richer it is the

larger must be the volume of its import trade. And it stands to reason that a universally and adequately educated and industrially developed India, as under self-rule she is confidently expected to be, would be wealthier than she now is. The purchasing power of Indians per head would then be far greater than now. It is reasonable then to think that on the whole Great Britain would continue to supply to self-ruling Indians at least as much of her manufactures as now.

But suppose a free India means some loss of wealth to England. This loss would certainly not be so great as to reduce the British people to poverty. It would mean only a curtailment of some of their luxuries, it could not affect their physical well-being. As luxury saps national vitality, and vitiates, weakens and degrades the national character, decrease of luxuries is not a loss but a gain.

The most vital and important thing to bear in mind in this connection is that which is involved in the question, what shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his soul? A powerful nation must lose their soul if, while they themselves want to remain free, they insist upon keeping others in bondage.

Indians have not sought to be independent, even though all successful movements for independence have received the subsequent sanction of History, they have not sought to weaken England and strengthen her enemies by going over to their side; only a handful of Indians, an infinitesimal fraction of their total number, have been found to have conspired with the Germans for the overthrow of British rule in India. We state these facts as facts, without in the least seeking to take credit and claim a "reward for loyalty." For there is no political arithmetic or thought-reading by means of which one can determine to what extents respectively India's quiescence during the present world-crisis may have been due to her warm attachment to British bureaucratic rule, to worldly calculation of loss and gain, to the consideration of what is feasible and not feasible, &c.

From no point of view can it then be said that Indians have sought to take advantage of England's calamity.

A people are justified under any and all circumstances to endeavour to be citizens in the widest acceptation of that word.

They are not morally bound to seek the convenience of those who would not willingly allow them to be citizens, as regards the time when the endeavour is to be made or as regards other circumstances. It is those that have opposed the attainment of citizenship by us earlier, who owe an explanation to mankind,—not we. If a slave be asked by his master, "Why do you want to be free now, the time is not convenient for me?" the slave may very reasonably reply: "Because you would not allow me to be free earlier." He may even retort by asking: "Why did you not set me free earlier?"
25-4-1918.

The Proper Time to Demand Freedom.

The present is the most proper time for us to ask the British people to allow us to be citizens. They have declared again and again that they have taken part in this war for the world's freedom. As India is a part of the world, we are justified in trying to test the sincerity of this declaration by asking that India be free within the British Empire. It may be said that responsible Government has already been declared authoritatively as the goal of British policy in India. But many promises made in the past have been broken, and no period has been definitely mentioned within which the goal is to be reached. Moreover, Ireland which has a much greater number of representatives in the British Parliament than it can claim according to its population, Ireland of which the natives are entitled to fill and have filled high offices in all parts of the Empire and possess all its privileges and advantages, must be placated by the grant of Home Rule during the crisis of the war. British women have been enfranchised during the war. The new Reform Act gives votes to 8,000,000 new electors, of whom 6,000,000 are women. British sailors and soldiers on full pay, and merchant seamen, pilots, and fishermen, and persons engaged on Red Cross work or other work of national importance abroad or afloat, are to be registered as voters for the constituencies for which they would have been qualified but for their service. Whereas other male voters can qualify after they are 21 years of age, those who have served in the war will be qualified at the age of 19 years. In the House of Commons there would be now 707 members, or 37 more than at present.

31 new boroughs have been created, 44 old ones extinguished, and representation has been extended to the new universities. If such vast and momentous changes have been necessary and possible in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the inhabitants of all of which were free before the war, why is it said that Britishers should profess to have their minds and hands too full of war work to think of anything else, as soon as a little freedom is claimed for India? If free Ireland could not wait, if free Great Britain could not wait, if they were not even told to wait, how is it that it is only India, which is not free, must wait and wait and wait, and yet be asked to fight for the liberty of the world (!)? Does a fight for freedom mean that those who are free are to be freer even during the war, and those who are not free are not even to be told definitely when they may expect to have, not full freedom, but only a little of it? It is claimed that the war is intended to make the principle of self-determination of nations triumphant. Even the uncivilised German colonies in Africa which have been conquered by the British Empire (with the help of Indian troops), are to have the advantage of this principle, which means that all peoples are to freely choose their allegiance and form of government. In one of his speeches on the Man-power Mr. Lloyd George said that "when large numbers of Irish youths were brought into the fighting line, it was right that they should feel that they were not fighting to establish a principle abroad *which had not been applied to them.*" Mark the tense here, "*had not been applied.*" In the case of Indian why should the words be, "would not be applied to them in some future time?" And perhaps at the Delhi Conference some resolution might be passed (we are writing before the date of the Conference) which would prevent us from even asking such questions.

If Irish Home Rule, woman suffrage, votes for the new British universities, votes for new boroughs and votes for sailors and soldiers, all won or to be won during war, have not exposed those who have got or are to get the franchise thereby, to the charge of taking advantage of England's embarrassment, of bargaining, or of any other kind of unseemly conduct, why should the Indian self-rule movement expose Indians to any such charge?

It is also utterly false to say that Indians are seeking a reward for loyalty. They are claiming their birthright; for all men are born free and to be free. Moreover, the fact of freedom having been given or obtained as a reward for loyalty is unfamiliar in history; for neither in the history of the British Empire nor in that of any other country have men in power ever granted political enfranchisement as a reward for loyalty. Why should Indians be considered so foolish or so little read in history as to base any expectation on a causal connection between things between which there is no such necessary connection? Loyalty should be a thoroughly disinterested sentiment. Wherever it is genuine, it is disinterested. For political enfranchisement other means than the exhibition of loyalty have been adopted in all ages and countries according to differing circumstances and the degree or extent of enfranchisement sought. The people of India also have had recourse to such means in consideration of what they want, and what is feasible, legitimate and righteous. Consequently, it has taken the form of a bloodless civic struggle in their case. 25-4-1918.

The Premier's Message.

On the *second* April the Premier sent a message to the Viceroy urging the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts to bring the war to a successful issue. The message was sent in view of the German menace being likely to spread to the East. It reads as follows:—

At this time when the intention of the rulers of Germany to establish a tyranny not only over all Europe but over Asia as well has become transparently clear, I wish to ask the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the British armies assisted by their Allies, the attempt of the enemy in the west is being checked. But if we are to prevent the menace spreading to the east and gradually engulfing the world, every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels it has already won and will equip itself on an even greater scale than at present to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder, which it is the object of the enemy to achieve.

To this the Viceroy sent the following reply on the *fifth* of April:

Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom and by the stern unalterable resolution which those sacrifices evince. India

anxious, yet confident, realises to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict and your trumpet call at this crisis will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the princes and the people's leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British empire stands.

And both the Premier's message and the Viceroy's reply thereto were wired to the papers on the *eighth* of April. We cannot guess why the Viceroy withheld the message from the people of India, for whom as well as the Government of India it was meant, for six days, and also why he could not so arrange matters, by the prompt publication of the message and other means, as to be able to send his reply on the 5th April, as he did, *after* seeing how the message was received by the people.

As there has not been any definite indication, in the message and the reply, of the danger to Asia and particularly to India, various alarming rumours have been afloat, and these continue to be believed in by the people in spite of contradictions issuing from Anglo-Indian journals and from official sources. To these support has been indirectly lent by the discussion in the public press of the desirability or otherwise of conscription in India to meet the situation.

It is to be hoped that the conference at Delhi would clear up matters.

In the Premier's message we note that he expects "every lover of freedom and law" to play his part. Every lover of freedom and law values and seeks these priceless things for himself as well as for others. He seeks to be himself free and to be placed under law as opposed to the will of the Executive and the Police. In the Viceroy's reply the words "soil of their motherland" have led us to reflect that the *idea* of the motherland is more important than the *soil* of the motherland. Sons and daughters feel quite free and fearless in their mother's home, and entitled to everything there. We wonder if India is to us a mother's home in this sense, though the soil of India is undoubtedly the soil of the Motherland. The Motherland *idea* has still to be realized. 25-4-1918.

War Conference at Delhi.

The object of the War Conference at Delhi is stated in two telegrams from Delhi as follows :

"The object of the meeting is to invite the cooperation of all classes, firstly, in sinking domestic difference and in bringing about cessation of the political propaganda during the present crisis. Secondly, in securing the active support of all classes in measures necessary for the prosecution of the war with special reference to man power and the development of India's resources. Thirdly, in cheerfully making the sacrifices which may be necessary to achieve victory."

"A great conference at Delhi immediately in order to call a truce to the political difference and to combine all classes and creeds for the prosecution of the war is generally understood as an earnest of the resolve of the Government of India to mobilise the entire resources of the country at this great crisis. The Indian and European will gather united under the leadership of Lord Chelmsford in this demonstration. For the Indians, the events that it foreshadows will be a test of fitness to take up the heritage of that fuller imperial citizenship that the Secretary of State is in their midst to organise. For the Europeans it will be a rallying point for the commencement of increasing sacrifices and deeds of war.

The United Kingdom is not more distant from the main seat of the war and is not less closely affected by and interested in it than India. But in the United Kingdom, at no stage of the war, has there been a sinking of all domestic difference. Even now there is much domestic difference. For example, as we have shown in a previous note, the Irish Nationalist leaders, with Mr. Dillon at their head, have resolved to resist conscription in Ireland. The two following telegrams also show that the political atmosphere in the United Kingdom is not quiet :—

HOME RULE BILL—ULSTER WILL FIGHT.

London, April 25.

Sir Edward Carson in a letter to the Secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council says, it will be necessary to summon its standing Committee at the earliest moment after the publication of the Home Rule Bill and he hopes that every available delegate will attend as the position to be taken up will be of the gravest possible character. It will also be necessary to re-organise all machinery of the province which has been in abeyance through war work. This is unavoidable through the action of the Government in raising a burning question forming a breach of party truce.—"Reuter."

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MOVE.

London, April 23.

Sixteen Irish King's Counsel, including several Crown prosecutors, have signed the anti-conscription declaration. A separate Protestant anti-conscription movement is obtaining increased support in many places.—"Reuter."

The publication, on the 24th April, of the report of the conference presided over by Lord Bryce on the reform of the Second

Chamber, is not calculated to produce a quiet atmosphere. As it is a majority report and contains many contentious recommendations, it will not enable the people of Great Britain to sink domestic differences. We do not say that because Britishers have not sunk their domestic differences, therefore we also should not sink our differences. What we urge is that as these differences in the United Kingdom have not stood in the way of the prosecution of the war, and as nobody there has attempted to or succeeded in putting an end to all domestic controversies, a similar attempt is unnecessary in India. Nay, more; it would be disadvantageous to us. We may put a stop to or may be forced to put a stop to all controversy on our side, but the bureaucracy will go on doing things which it would be against our interests to put up with in silence, and the Anglo-Indian journalists will also go on misrepresenting and insulting us.

The second object of the conference is said to be the bringing about of the cessation of the political propaganda. To this also we unhesitatingly and in unequivocal terms object. In the United Kingdom, at no stage of the war—not even now—has political propaganda been stopped. During the war Irish Home Rule has been hotly debated, pacifists and socialists have gone on with their propaganda, large measures of national educational reform have been discussed and adopted, a Reform Act has been passed doubling the electorate, including the enfranchisement of six millions of women, and various other measures are contemplated. A summary of the work done during the last session of the British Parliament, given in the *Review of Reviews*, will bear out what we say:—

THE LATE SESSION.

The seventh session and the third war session of the present Parliament ended on February 6th after a conflict over P. R. [Proportional Representation] in the two Houses which reminded one of political encounters of a bygone age. The Session has been one of solid work and substantial achievement. Men of all parties have shown their determination to settle outstanding constitutional questions. By far the largest effort was the passing of the Reform Act, details of which we give elsewhere. By the exercise of infinite patience and tact Mr. Prothero succeeded in carrying the Corn Production Act through a not too friendly House. By this Act minimum prices were fixed for wheat and oats for six years, a minimum wage guaranteed to agricultural workmen, and power given to the Board of Agriculture to enforce proper cultivation. National

security for one of our basic industries was insured by the passage of the Non-Ferrous Metal Industry Bill. Adaptation to the changing needs of war is shown in the Air Force Act, which constitutes a new service under a fully equipped Ministry, with a Secretary of State at its head. The session's record includes the passage of two Military Service Acts, both embodying and extending the principle of universal liability laid down by Mr. Asquith's administration. That the passage of the Education Bill does not figure in the records of the session is greatly to be regretted. One can but urge that it shall be one of the first Acts to be passed in the new session. Our education system cries out loudly for improvement, yet this Bill, which is at least a start in the right direction, is kept dallying for months instead of being put into effect as it ought to have been long ago.

THE REFORM ACT.

So passes into law a measure which doubles the electorate, and the consequences of which no man can foresee.

It may be that many of the results obtained in England were achieved without much political agitation. But that is because the people and Government are largely identical there, whereas here they are entirely different. And, therefore, we should be allowed to agitate for what we want. It cannot be said that the British people are doing only what is required to obtain victory. Many important things have been and are being done which have little direct or indirect bearing on the achievement of victory. Our main political propaganda, on the contrary, is really, though in a slightly indirect manner, connected with obtaining victory, and is therefore as much a war measure as the Irish Home Rule Bill and the British Reform Act. Again and again has it been said that the war is a fight for freedom, democracy and the principle of self-determination. England wants the enthusiastic support of India. India may eventually, though not all at once or immediately, become as enthusiastic as the self-ruling parts of the Empire, if here people get freedom and the principles of democracy and self-determination are given effect to. Whereas in England the bounds of freedom, which were already very wide, have been widened very recently this year by the Reform Act, India, which is unenfranchised, cannot reasonably be expected to be made enthusiastic by the mere promise of some unknown kind of constitutional change to be introduced *after the war*, though we are asked to be enthusiastic *during the war*.

Our opinion, then, is that political propaganda should not cease. If Government

publish their Reform Scheme early, if it be a substantial measure of self-rule, and if it be given effect to early, the Home Rule propaganda will cease automatically. But if it be unsatisfactory, we must be allowed to go on with our propaganda. For neither the British bureaucracy, nor the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy are, of course humanly speaking, the arbiters of our destiny; the British people are. And we must be allowed to influence them directly or indirectly. Other nations are fighting for freedom literally. Are we to be prevented from fighting for our freedom metaphorically?

Home Rule is not the only issue before the country. There are other problems and grievances. There is no reason why their discussion should stop, as similar discussions continue to go on in England and do not interfere with the successful prosecution of the war. It would be very unjust and unstatesmanlike if the war be made a pretext for further gagging the Press and restricting the freedom of public speaking and thus giving the bureaucracy still greater freedom from public criticism than they already enjoy.

The question of making India's manpower more available will be discussed later on. As regards more money for the war, it is to be hoped that there will not be fresh taxation, as people are already, considering their incomes, very heavily taxed, and as the high prices of commodities have hit the poor and the middle classes very hard. A special super-tax on the rich and a tax on war-profits may be imposed, if necessary.

As regards cheerfully making necessary sacrifices, we have already given indications of our opinion that the spirit of sacrifice cannot be created to order. Sacrifices are made cheerfully when they are made spontaneously, and they are made spontaneously when the proper conditions exist. The proper conditions are those that exist in the United Kingdom and other self-governing parts of the Empire. The conditions are educational, political and economic. To make sacrifices cheerfully, a people must be sufficiently educated to understand the momentous issues of the war; they must be able to feel that they are and have been sharers in the freedom, to safeguard which, it is alleged, the war is being waged; and lastly, as regards their economic condition, they must have some-

thing to spare, over and above what is needed to keep body and soul together, which they can sacrifice. As the political, economic and educational condition of India has been very backward, even the immediate grant of Home Rule will not enable Indians to emulate Britishers in the measure of their sacrifices or in the degree of enthusiasm and cheerfulness with which they are to be made. England has not yet adequately done her duty in India, and cannot therefore expect to have the right kind and measure of response in the hour of need. She cannot reap where she has not sown. But though the response may not be as great as is required, it will increase in a marked manner as soon as England actually begins to do her duty by India in the fields of politics, education and industries.

As regards the development of India's resources, the British rulers of India had, in John Company's days, ruined many of India's industries, and subsequently adequate efforts have never been made to teach and help Indians to properly utilise the resources of their country. But even now the right kind of efforts will meet with a proportionate degree of success. There should not, however, be any desire to exploit the resources of India on the pretext of making her industrially fit.

"For the Indians, the events that it foreshadows will be a test of fitness to take up the heritage of that fuller Imperial citizenship that the Secretary of State is in their midst to organise."

This is the old provoking Anglo-Indian bureaucratic demand, in one of its forms, that we should prove our fitness for citizenship to their satisfaction and according to tests laid down by them before we can be allowed to be citizens. We have repeatedly commented on this sort of cant, and do not intend to repeat what we have said so often. We will only say that no self-governing Dominion was called upon to prove or actually proved its fitness in this way before being admitted to full citizenship. Citizenship is every man's birthright. No one has any right to call upon anyone else to prove his fitness for citizenship according to tests laid down by the former.

The Indian residents of British India who have been invited by Government to attend the conference cannot be treated as representatives of the people of India, as they have been chosen by the officials,

not elected by the people. Some are elected members of the Imperial or some provincial legislative council; but the electorates which chose them are not themselves properly representative of the people. Moreover, in countries where representative government prevails, a parliament elected before a particular question had come to the fore are held incompetent to deal with it. A fresh election on that particular issue is often held to be necessary to make parliament representative of public opinion. Where even that is not considered sufficient or convenient, a referendum is resorted to in some countries. The resolutions which may be passed at the Delhi conference would not, therefore, be regarded as decisions to which the people of British India were a party, for various reasons. Among the members of the conference are many ruling princes, who have no place in the constitution of the Government of British India, such as it is. The consent of these Indian potentates do not imply the consent of their subjects, because they are not responsible to the latter, nor have they consulted the latter on the subjects of the resolutions. The other Indian members of the conference have not been chosen by the people to represent them at the conference, and the elected Indian members of the Indian legislative councils are returned by constituencies which are not popular.

We do not say all this simply to discount the decisions which may be arrived at by the conference. Our object is to say that constituted as the conference is, not the least popular character can be ascribed to it. Even if all the Home Rule leaders and others whose names have been mentioned in the press had been invited, the conference could not have assumed a popular representative character. For neither the administration of the affairs of the country nor its public life, is organised on a representative basis.

Under the present circumstances of India this fundamental objection could not have been fully met. For there is no time to lose, and a large popular electorate for this particular conference could not possibly have been improvised very quickly. Still Government could have consulted the wishes of the people to a greater extent than they have done, by, among other means, inviting the most influential popular leaders,

even though they were obnoxious to the powers that be.

If Government had taken the leaders of the people into their confidence and told them what the character, extent, and degree of imminence of the danger were, and left them at first to settle among themselves what they wanted to do and were capable of doing, the results would have been more satisfactory. The very fact of the Viceroy presiding over the conference might deprive the members of much, if not all, freedom, and it would practically register official decisions. Such decisions would not be felt morally as binding as the decisions arrived at by representatives of the people. So far as the spirit of co-operation, and even actual results, are concerned, inward acceptance or otherwise of an arrangement, by the people, makes a good deal of difference. 26-4-1918.

Provincial War Conferences.

It has been published in the papers that the war conferences to be called early in May by the provincial rulers of India are meant only to concert measures for giving effect to the Resolutions which may be passed at the War Conference to be held at Delhi on the 27th April. So these provincial conferences will not be able to consider whether any of the Delhi Resolutions require any modification in view of the particular conditions of a province. 27-4-1918.

Compulsory Military Service.

The history, and military, social and economic aspects of what is generally known as conscription cannot be dealt with within the compass of a brief note. Leaving aside the case of conscientious objectors, we will briefly indicate the conditions which, in our opinion, would justify a State in enforcing compulsory military service. In the first place, in the country where conscription is to be enforced, the Government must derive its authority from the people and be responsible to the people; the will of the people is to be the will of the Government. In other words, the State and the people are to be identified in interests and objects. In the second place, there should be no power in the State which can override the will of the people in the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace; that is to say,

the war for which compulsory military service is required, must be the people's war, and peace also is to be concluded according to the will of the people. The fulfilment of these two conditions is necessary, as otherwise the army raised by conscription may be simply tools in the hands of an autocrat like Napoleon Buonaparte or the present Kaiser William, or in the hands of a bureaucracy or military caste, to subserve their selfish purposes. In the third place, the men of military age whose services are to be compulsorily requisitioned, should all be literate and sufficiently educated to understand what duties they owe to the State and what duty the State owes to them. This condition is necessary in order that there may be as little of irksomeness and unintelligent obedience in conscription as possible. It is also necessary in order to prevent the easy substitution of democracy by autoeracy, oligarchy, or bureaucracy, and also to give the conscripted men necessary military training in as short a period of time as possible.

There are other conditions also which would prevent conscription from being regarded as utterly lacking in moral justification. For instance, conscription may be resorted to only in a war of defence,—defence of a people's own country and liberties, or of the country or liberty of another people who have been unjustifiably attacked. Conscription for aggressive purposes, such as those of Germany, or for purposes which are partly aggressive and imperialistic, is utterly lacking in moral justification. The presence of another circumstance also appears necessary, which will be understood from the following extract from the article on conscription contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Colonel F. N. Maude, C. B. :—

"The failure of compulsion if applied in the British Isles would be due to the fact that the principal factor of its success—the knowledge of what war must mean and the risk of immediate invasion—cannot be brought home to the people as long as the British navy retains its predominance. If the navy is adequate to prevent invasion, then compulsion is unnecessary; if it is inadequate, then the only way to make good its inadequacy is to bring home to the electors by a course of partial training the consequences which must ensue if they continue to neglect it."

Circumstances have undergone vast changes since the above was written, but some general conclusions may be drawn

from it, viz., that if people are to be conscripted they must have full "knowledge of what war must mean and the risk of immediate invasion," and they must also have a course of partial military training in order that they may understand the consequences which must ensue if they continue to neglect military training.

We have mentioned some of the main conditions which a State must fulfil before it can be justified in having recourse to conscription. These are necessary in order that conscription may not be or seem to be an act of tyranny or caprice.

Some people seem to think that a country where the people are conscripted is sure *ipso facto* to enjoy political liberty to a greater extent than those countries where the conditions are different. History does not support this belief. The French under Napoleon were not as free a people as the Englishmen of that age. The Germans of the present times are not as free as the Americans.

Conscription for India.

We are entirely opposed to the idea of conscription in India. The suggestion has originated in non-official brains. That the officials are not responsible for it shows their good sense. Government need adopt only such methods of recruitment as would bring them as many recruits as they can rapidly train and equip. They do not possess a sufficient number of trainers to train in time the large number of recruits which conscription may bring.

The only practicable and statesmanlike method to get soldiers here is to depend on persuasion. A Government which would not introduce compulsory education in the country on the ground, among others, that it would give rise to discontent, cannot compel men to risk their lives in battle. It would be against common sense to seek to give compulsory military training to all men of military age in a country where compulsory literary training for all boys of school-going age has not yet been attempted. The pay, prospects and other conditions of service should be such as to induce men to take to the army as a career and a profession. We do not suggest that fat salaries should be given to sepoys. But the pay should be more than that of a coolie or a menial, and sufficient to maintain him in a state of perfect physical fitness and enable

him besides to make some remittance home. Indians should have the same prospects and status as Britishers. An Indian's life is as dear to him and his kinsmen as a Britisher's is to him and his kinsmen. Where equal sacrifice—the sacrifice of life, if need be—is demanded, the conditions should be equal. Real King's Commissions, not honorary temporary ones, should be given to Indians. Where life has to be risked, the means of defending oneself should be the same for both the Indian and the British soldier. That is to say, Indian and British soldiers should have training of equal excellence, and their arms and ammunition and equipment should be of exactly the same kind and excellence.

Different kinds of people may be prepared for different degrees and kinds of risk, sacrifice or hardship. It is wise to take advantage of the willingness of all. Those who are willing to go abroad on active service should be and are enlisted in the regular army. There are others who are ready to undergo military training and do what is necessary to maintain order and keep the peace in the country. All such should be enlisted in the Defence Force. It is probable that a large number would volunteer for the Defence Force if the rule were laid down that they would not have to go outside their province for service. It is probable, too, that if there were a large Defence Force of such men, many of them would eventually join the regular army. Similarly, if a course of partial military training were given to all students above sixteen years of age, some of them would join the Defence Force and some the regular army.

Military spirit in a country where it has been discouraged or allowed to decay must be a thing of gradual growth, if it is to revive. In a province, like Bengal, for instance, where the people have been unfamiliar with military life for generations, and where in the majority of villages not a single rifle, pistol, revolver, or sword is to be found, it is certainly not sensible to suggest even "modified" conscription. Wise men would hasten slowly. 27-4-1918.

"To Camp, Citizens."

At a recent meeting in Calcutta one of the speakers is reported to have appealed to his youthful hearers to join the army *en*

blocc, quoting a French exhortation which means "To Camp, Citizens." We do not impugn the speaker's earnestness of purpose. Only he ought to have made sure whether there were any citizens among his audience. We have in mind "the more extended use of the word," "corresponding to *civitas*," which gives it "the meaning of one who is a constituent member of a state in international relations and as such has full national rights....." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). 27-4-1918.

Fighting for hearth and home and Motherland.

We do not think anybody has said that he would fight in defence of his hearth and home and motherland only if Government granted Home Rule and fulfilled certain other conditions. But if anybody has said anything so unreasonable, we cannot support him. Whoever thinks that he has a hearth and home and a motherland and also believes that they are in danger of being attacked, is bound to take steps to ensure their safety. Of course, if a man has no moral or religious scruples against fighting, he may become a soldier and fight even if his hearth and home and motherland be not in danger of invasion. 27-4-1918.

Honorary Temporary Second Lieutenants.

Nine Indian gentlemen in the Punjab, five in Bengal and three in Bihar have been granted the rank of temporary honorary second lieutenant subject to His Majesty's approval. This rank may be valued by those who have got it, if they be ambitious of such honours. But Indians should understand that this rank is not what they wanted when they asked for the King's commissions in the regular army like those which British military officers in active service hold. Moreover, it is to be noted that so far as Bengal is concerned,—we cannot speak for the other provinces—the rank has not been conferred on any Indian non-commissioned officer or soldier who has distinguished himself by fighting in any front, or on the militarily fittest among those who have undergone training in the Calcutta University Infantry or the Bengal Light Horse. Probably this rank has been granted to encourage the recipients in the work of obtaining recruits for the regular army.

In order that the public may continue to urge on the attention of Government the justice and expediency of giving permanent King's Commissions to Indians in the regular army, it is necessary to explain that lieutenants occupy the lowest rank of commissioned officers, and second lieutenants are lower grade lieutenants. The value of a temporary second lieutenancy is less than that of a permanent one. And where the office is honorary, its value becomes still less. It could be compared to honorary temporary sub-deputy collectorships, or honorary temporary sub-assistant surgeons, if there were such offices.

When in August, 1917, nine King's commissions were conferred on Indians, people could not understand what they exactly meant. An "Indian Officer" wrote at that time a long letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, explaining the whole thing. As the matter is important, we quote almost the whole of it below :

The nine gentlemen to whom the grant of the King's Commissions was recently announced were "already" in possession of the King's Commissions. Ordinarily there are only two kinds of Commissions in the Army, viz., the King's Commissions as British Officers and the Viceroy's Commissions as Indian Officers. The fact that these nine gentlemen had the King's Commissions before now ought to have entitled them to "all" the rights and privileges enjoyed by British officers. But the recent announcement of Government seems to show that there was a differentiation between the Indians holding the King's Commission and the Englishmen holding the King's Commission. A reference to pre-war Army Lists (The Army List is not open to the public since the outbreak of the War) shows that the Imperial Cadet Corps Boys who had passed their final examination were given Commissions in the Native Indian Land Forces, a unit which never existed before the grant of the King's Commission to the successful Cadet Corps boys, and which was created for their special "benefit" and consists "solely" of these 11 or 12 officers, the only Indians who were fortunate or unfortunate enough to encroach upon the field of "vested interest" of the British officers. To a layman it appears that these "irregular," if one may be permitted to use that word, King's Commissions granted to Indians have now been regularized, a matter of bare justice to these gentlemen who must have been fighting against great odds. However, if their disabilities are now completely removed and they are admitted to complete equality, it is a matter of great rejoicing. It is to be hoped that these gentlemen will not be done out of their seniority by dating their "regular" Commissions from the 25th of August, 1917, instead of from the dates of their present appointment in the Native Indian Land Forces. The fact that the "Regular" Commissions given to these officers are in the same ranks as they were holding in the Native Indian Land Forces and are not in the rank of Second-Lieutenants, as is usual when new Commissions are given, precludes

the possibility of their Commissions being dated from 25th August, 1917, but still it is well to be on guard, as Government has a great knack of "volte face", e.g., the announcement of Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament that Commissions will be given to Indians in the Indian Defence Force was construed by the Government of India to mean that the Viceroy's Commissions will be given to them. If this was the meaning of the then Secretary of State's announcement, there was no need to make such an announcement at all, as the grant of the Viceroy's Commission to Indians, whether in the Indian Defence Force or the Regular Army, is no concession at all. As a matter of fact the Viceroy's Commission is given to Indians only and to no others. It is also to be hoped that the Government of India will now abolish the special unit, the Native Indian Land Forces, because to a layman it appears a farce to retain a unit which now will consist only of 2 or 3 officers and no men. One wonders why these 2 or 3 officers remaining in the Native Indian Land Force have been left out in the cold and not been given the regular British Commission. If they are unfit for it, they have no place in the army at all and should be asked to resign. On the other hand if they are fit, it is an injustice to them still to labour under disabilities while their brother officers have been admitted to a status of full equality. In 13 years (the first King's Commissions were given in 1905, to the successful Cadet Corps boys) only 12 Indians have been able to win even the "irregular" King's Commission. I hope the Government will not be so niggardly in giving the "pucca" Commissions. Otherwise India is not likely to take this great concession with a good grace.

Under what system is the grant of Commissions going to be made in the future? It can be done in one or two ways. (1) Suitable candidates could be nominated by Government and given Commissions and a posterior training could be given to them to fit them for their ranks and (2) A military school could be started on the lines of the military schools at Sandhurst and Woolwich and candidates could be given Commissions after passing a competitive examination. The latter of course is the only system that could ensure success. Unless education is made as strict a test as is the case with British officers themselves, how on earth could the Indian British officers compete with the British officers? If Government fall back on their favourite method of nomination, the result will be that either the Government will have to rescind the concession in the future or they will have to allow the tone of the army to deteriorate, both equally deplorable results.

If the Government of India do not establish a military school but select officers for British Commissions by nomination, it is the duty of the leaders of Indian political opinion as well as the public organs of India to initiate a constitutional agitation till the Government think fit to establish such a school.

If the "Indian Officer's" information is correct, then these nine Indian commissioned officers without any men to command would seem to be like shepherd without sheep, engine-drivers without engines to drive, and rajas and nawabs without territories to reign over and rule.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

The following appears among the parliamentary reports published in India :

MR. LAJPAT RAI AND THE HOME SECRETARY.

Mr. King asked the Home Secretary whether he received a cablegram from Mr. Lajpat Rai on or about 23rd December, 1917, repudiating the suggestion made in that House that the sender was subsidised by German funds; whether he was aware that a cablegram to the same effect was on the same date sent to a London newspaper, but was never delivered; whether he gave orders to stop the latter being received; and whether he was now in a position to state that Mr. Lajpat Rai had, as he averred, always opposed German propaganda.

Mr. Bruce: My right hon. Friend received the first cable mentioned by the hon. Member on 25th December. There is no trace of the second having been received either by the Cable Censor or the Press Bureau; it was certainly not stopped by the Home Secretary's order. The answer to the last part of the question is in the negative.

India writes :—

It will be remembered that, some time ago in the House of Commons, Sir George Cave, the Home Secretary, made a number of charges against Mr. Lajpat Rai, arising out of the reprint and limited circulation in this country of his book, "Young India". So soon as the facts came to the knowledge of Mr. Lajpat Rai, he cabled to the Home Secretary and to the *Daily News* repudiating these charges. The London newspaper does not appear to have received this cable, and Mr. Lajpat Rai writes very properly complaining of what seems to be an extraordinary exercise of the censorial functions. He rightly asks how a man, against whom serious charges are publicly made in this country, is to clear himself, if cables to that end are held back. He says :—

"While we here are engaged in making it clear to the American public that India does not want to go out of the Empire, the Government in England is trying to discredit us. What will be the effect? The people here will be inclined to accept the revolutionary party as the spokesmen of India."

This, as Mr. Lajpat remarks, is a very short-sighted policy.

In this connection the *Punjabee* has published the following extract from the *London Daily News* :

A Tale of Two Cablegrams—They were both despatched from New York on Dec. 23, 1917. The first ran as follows :—

"Daily News" London.

"Cabled Cave indignantly repudiating charge German subsidy. Have always opposed German propaganda."

Lajpat Rai.

Unfortunately it was never delivered—at any rate, no record of its receipt at this office can be discovered. I hope the second was more fortunate. It ran thus :—

Home Secretary. London.

"Indignantly repudiate your statement House of Commons author book 'Young India' subsidised by Germans. My opposition German connection repeatedly publicly stated American Press."

Lajpat Rai.

The *Punjabee* also quotes the following from the letter of the London correspondent of a contemporary :

"I say I hope that cable was delivered, but I cannot feel very confident. For I do not recollect

that Sir George Cave has ever taken any step either to prove publicly the very grave accusation which he made against the author of "Young India," or even to indicate that his charge was challenged."

We do not believe that Lala Lajpat Rai has been subsidised by Germany. He has been more than once the victim of such false official slanders before, and once he compelled the *Englishman* to pay him damages for libel. But libellers in an official capacity cannot be brought to book, and this immunity encourages them to make reckless statements which they cannot prove.

Stopping of Home Rule and Congress Deputation to England.

The following press communique has been issued to explain why the Indian political delegations were not allowed to proceed to England :

In connection with the recent decision of His Majesty's Government that passports must be refused to Home Rule and Congress delegates wishing to proceed to England, the following communication received from the Secretary of State is published for general information. The question of passports for Home Rule and Congress delegates came again before the cabinet and the cabinet have reaffirmed the decision that in the existing circumstances none of the Home Rule delegates can be allowed to proceed to this country. It is considered by His Majesty's Government that the journey on which these persons have embarked was uncalled for and the purpose of it lacking in any sufficient justification. It was proposed by these persons at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown and had not yet been submitted to His Majesty's Government to come to England in the avowed role of agitators to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. Such a proceeding at any time would be improper. Under existing circumstances when the country is waging a great war and is confronted with a crisis of the greatest magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort and so far as possible the suspension of purely political agitation and platform controversy in whatever interest, it is one in which the Government could not acquiesce. Further the generous intentions of His Majesty's Government which have already been demonstrated by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament and his visit to India would be seriously compromised and might be fatally impaired if an attempt were made before or at the very moment when they were considering his report to force their hands by a premature and possibly harmful propaganda. It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government are compelled to give this decision. But they have no alternative.

These delegations were not sprung upon Government as a surprise. They had been talked of for a long time, and preparations

had been going on for months. The Viceroy had heard of them and had promised all the help and advice that it was in his power to give, and it appears that he made efforts to keep his promise. It does not speak much for the alertness of the cabinet that they could discover the dangerous character of the delegations only after they had started on their voyage, and had undergone considerable expenditure, which has been rendered useless. Many nations in the world are fighting in the literal sense for full freedom. India is fighting only in a figurative sense for a small measure of freedom. It is unjust that Indians should be prevented from carrying on this constitutional struggle in England, for, as we have shown in the April number, part of our constitutional battle must be fought on British soil, the reason being that, neither the Viceroy, nor the Secretary of State for India, nor the cabinet, but the British Parliament or rather the British democracy is the final *human* arbiter of India's immediate destiny. We ought, therefore, to have been allowed to place our case before the British people. The British premier and some other members of the cabinet have repeatedly declared that this is a war for freedom, and they should therefore have made every effort to convince Indians that so far as India was concerned their professions were sincere. After all, our demand of Home Rule or self-rule means in part, that a certain number of the inhabitants of the British Empire who have not got the vote should have the franchise. During this very year, the greatest of the British Reform Acts has been passed, doubling the electorate, and the Irish are going to have Home Rule in addition to the 105 seats which the new reform act has given them in the British Parliament. It is not without reason that we have called the present Reform Act the greatest in British history. "The Act of 1832 enfranchised about 455,000 electors; that of 1867 added 1,080,000, mostly town workers; that of 1834 2,000,000 more, chiefly agricultural labourers; the new Act gives the vote to 8,000,000 new electors, of whom about 6,000,000 are women." If during the war, and in countries nearest to the main seat of the struggle, it has been found possible and necessary to enfranchise so many millions of persons, why should

Indians not be enfranchised during the war?

The tone of the communique is unnecessarily offensive. Are we children that we should ask some of our prominent countrymen to undertake a journey full of great risks in spite of the fact that it "was uncalled for" and "lacking in sufficient justification?" That it was perfectly called for and entirely justified we have already shown.

As an argument for justifying any and every arbitrary unjust decision, the war seems to have come as the veriest godsend to bureaucrats of all sorts. In spite of the war revolutionary measures have been passed in Parliament. A conference has met and presented its report on the mending or ending of the House of Lords. A radical and far-reaching educational programme is being discussed, and the *Review of Reviews* complains, not that the Education Bill should have been discussed during "a crisis of the greatest magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort," but "that the passage of the Education Bill does not figure in the records of the session is greatly to be regretted. One can but urge that it shall be one of the first Acts to be passed in the new session. Our education system cries out loudly for improvement, yet this Bill, which is at least a start in the right direction, is kept dallying for months instead of being put into effect as it ought to have been long ago." The various other things done in the last parliamentary session, as summarised in the *Review of Reviews*, have already been enumerated in a previous note. During the war a minimum wage has been fixed for farm labour and a minimum price fixed for farm produce. But we need not go on adding to the list of very important political and non-political measures which Englishmen have thought fit to pass for their own country, in spite of the pre-occupation of the war. It is only when India comes in, that the pre-occupation of the war is trotted out to block our way. If all the things done and all the things still under discussion in the United Kingdom be claimed to have either a direct or an indirect bearing on the war, does not the grant of self-rule to India have any bearing on the successful prosecution of the war? Is it not expected to stimulate enthusiasm

for the Empire, and would not such enthusiasm be calculated to make more man-power and other resources available? It is not at all convincing that whilst in England meetings continue to be held for all sorts of purposes, the press is fully busy as usual with all sorts of controversies, and Ulstermen, Labourites, Irish Nationalists and others go on with their propaganda and protests, a few Indian speakers and writers alone have frightened the cabinet. They have been prevented from going to England, but the cabinet cannot stop the activities of the Irish Nationalists and the followers of Sir Edward Carson, nor can they prevent the open and secret propaganda of the Sydenhamites against Indians.

It seems that the "generous intentions of His Majesty's Government" as "demonstrated by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament" ought to fully satisfy Indians, and that these "generous intentions" "would be seriously compromised and might be fatally impaired if an attempt were made before or at the very moment when they were considering his report to force their hands by a premature and possibly harmful propaganda." Why did not "generous intentions" suffice for Ireland? Why did they not suffice for the 8 million new British electors, including 6 million women? Indians know that they have no power to force the hands of the British ministry, and so, as a matter of fact, they have never had the least intention to force their hands. But in British history, Irish Nationalists, militant suffragettes, and various other classes of the people, have at various times, tried to force the hands of the British Government; without the "generous intentions" of the latter being either "compromised" or "fatally impaired."

As for the Secretary of State's visit to India and return to England therefrom with a report, why should the British people be allowed to hear and depend upon only his and the Government of India's version of the case? Why should it be taken for granted that they are infallible, have heard all the possible views and attached due importance to different shades of opinion, and that they are utterly unprejudiced parties? Why should we be prevented from preparing the mind of the British public beforehand, so that things may be seen by them correctly and in their proper

perspective? *The Statesman* is not a pro-Indian paper, but is bitterly hostile to Indian interests. It says:—

"It was proposed by these persons," say the Home Government, meaning Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal, "at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown, and had not yet been submitted to His Majesty's Government, to come to England to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. Such a proceeding at any time would be improper." We confess that this doctrine appears to us to be absurd and out of keeping with constitutional usage. At what time was it laid down that when a Secretary of State is carrying out an investigation all discussion should cease? An inquiry conducted by a Secretary of State is not judicial proceeding. The Secretary of State is a politician. Mr. Montagu is a politician in quest of a policy. In no country is there a close time for politicians, nor is there any reason why they should be given a start with any scheme which they may hatch. The exigencies of political controversy demand that the designs of Ministers should be as far as possible anticipated and that the public mind should be prepared for the proposals which they are likely to propound. If it had been suspected that Lord Crewe, prompted by Lord Hardinge, was contemplating the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, there would have been no impropriety in launching an agitation against such a step, even if it were not positively known that Lord Crewe had approved the change and communicated his decision to his colleagues. As a matter of fact, it was to evade discussion that this boon was kept a secret and was not announced until it was too late to make an effectual protest. An Irish Convention has lately been sitting to discover a constitution for Ireland; but the voice of controversy was not stilled. Why should there be silence in India or in England because Mr. Montagu is in labour with an Indian Constitution? Not only is there no reason for holding the peace,—apart from the war which must dominate all other considerations,—but such a truce is impracticable, unless the Indian Government are prepared to warn all the newspapers, and prohibit all the conferences, in which so much violent rant is poured forth.

The Times of India, another Anglo-Indian paper, though not exactly of the same kind as the *Statesman*, writes:—

"The only comment that can be offered on the withdrawal of the passports of Mr. Tilak and his Home Rule party at Colombo is that the Home Authorities have been grievously ill-advised. The intention of this Deputation to visit England in the interests of their propaganda has been common knowledge for months. With a full sense of responsibility, and whilst the Secretary of State was in India, passports for the purpose were issued to them. These passports were withdrawn at Colombo, without notice, and without any consultation with the Government of India. We cannot imagine a more ill-advised action. If the presence of Mr. Tilak and his party in England at this stage of the war was deemed ill-advised, then they should have received early intimation and the Government of India should have been consulted. But we can see no reason why their presence should be regarded as ill-advised. The

ultimate authority for the governance of India is the British democracy; that democracy should have every opportunity for hearing all points of view. The broad outline of the scheme for the progressive development of the Indian constitution will shortly be before the British people; it is most desirable that their decision should be based on the fullest knowledge of the facts. The greatest disservice which can be done to the cause of sane political reform in India is to place artificial obstacles in the way of those who wish to appeal to the British democracy; if their propaganda is ill-timed, or mischievous, then it will meet with its deserts; but to refuse them, particularly at this stage in their arrangements, the right of passage, is to be false to all our traditions of public life."

28-4-1918.

What we should do.

The fact remains that the Indian deputations have been prevented from going to England. Mere criticism cannot be of much use to us. We must, by all the means available under the circumstances, tell the British people what we want, why we want it, and why we are entitled to and should have it. From a private letter we learn that it has become urgently necessary "to counteract the poison that a set of rich and powerful Anglo-Indian merchants and ex-officials led by Lord Sydenham are injecting into the British mind. They have secured thousands of pounds and are using them to disseminate all sorts of exaggerations and half-truths through the medium of the London and provincial press, through pamphlets and leaflets broadcast throughout the United Kingdom, through circulars sent to Members of Parliament, Trade Unions, and Chambers of Commerce, etc., and by means of lectures delivered by men who go about telling the British that they were born in India and make them feel that they know all about the Indian peoples and problems."

We learn from the same letter that "the British Committee of the Indian National Congress is living in a state of semi-animation. It is not issuing any pamphlets, it is making no effort to use the British press to answer the attacks that the Sydenham group is constantly making, and it is doing nothing to counteract the lectures delivered by the Sydenham propagandists in various cities and towns."

It is necessary to infuse more life and vigor and alertness into the Congress organ *India*. We have noted with pleasure that it has of late become a more "live" organ than before; but it should be improved still further and its circulation

should be largely increased in England. The energy and ability of Indian journalists in England, like Mr. St. Nihal Singh for instance, and of Indian speakers there, should be fully utilised.

The Home Rule League in London carries on propaganda mainly, if not only, among the working classes; for this we are grateful. But other sections of the people require to be reached. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress requires some infusion of new blood, and of Indian blood in particular. Pamphlets explaining Indian needs and aspirations and also chronicling what India has done for the Empire during the war should be issued and circulated in large numbers. Indians at present in England who may be able to do so should intercede with the editors of all classes of newspapers to put, every now and then, the Indian view before their readers. For work of all these descriptions money is required. Our Home Rule and other similar political organisations should utilise a part of their funds in this way, making remittances to those in England who, they know, will be able to make a proper use of the resources thus placed at their disposal.

We know Mr. Bhupendranath Basu has made strenuous efforts to get the joint Congress-League scheme accepted by Mr. Montagu and the Government of India, and he may be expected to do his part manfully and tactfully in future also; but he might be expected to feel more confident if his hands were strengthened by propaganda in England. And he will not complain of his countrymen trying to force his hands!

Indians and friends of Indians in England should at this fateful hour of Indian history sink their personal and party differences and work together for the common cause.

28-4-1918.

American Pressure and Justice to Ireland.

In the course of the debate on the British Man-power Bill, which is now an Act of Parliament, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier, said:—

It was useless passing the bill unless we intended to enforce it and it was useless to enforce it unless behind the Government there was a feeling that Ireland had been justly treated. So far American opinion supported the justice of the Man Power Bill provided that self-government was offered to Ireland. This opinion was vital to us at present, because

America was coming to our aid in one of the most remarkable decisions ever taken by any executive.

Mr. Lloyd George said that President Wilson's decision was difficult but was the only way in which America could render practical assistance in this battle. The decision, however, was full of difficulty for the executive in the circumstances and America was entitled to expect from the Government of this country, though they could not ask any Government to carry domestic legislation of any particular character, that the difficulties would be smoothed as far as possible. He was sure that nothing would be more helpful at present to secure the full measure of American assistance than the determination of the British Parliament to tender to Ireland (Irish cries of tender).

Mr. Lloyd George continued:—Honourable members are simply seeking quarrels where they are not intended (cheers). When a Parliament tendered it tendered in the form of an Act. That was the only way in which Parliament could tender. He did not speak of Government tendering but of Parliament tendering. The best way in which American opinion could be assured that we were dealing fairly with Ireland was that the British Parliament should tender a measure of Self-government to Ireland as would satisfy reasonable American opinion. He believed that we could do that. Government had therefore, come to the conclusion after the Convention had reported that Irish Self-government was an essential measure. It was impossible to face the difficulties in Ireland without a united country behind the Government and unity was unattainable unless every section felt that justice had been done not merely by compelling the Irishmen to take the full share in war burdens but by securing to them the principle of self-determination for which they were fighting in every theatre (loud Nationalist cheers).

It is clear that in Ireland "generous intentions" alone have not sufficed, nor has anybody complained that the Americans were bargaining on behalf of the Irish, or that they were trying to force the hands of the British, or that they were taking advantage of England's difficulty. That the influence or pressure of American public opinion and the opinion of the American President Dr. Wilson, has had much to do with the expediting of the passage of a Home Rule Bill for Ireland was known in India before. We wrote on this subject last year, and quote below some passages since reproduced in *Towards Home Rule* Part III:—

"The following extract will show the trend of American opinion and the pressure it exerted on England.

The Times New York correspondent had taken some pains to sound American opinion on the subject and he felt "no hesitation in stating, that from President Wilson downwards the people of the country feel that now is the psychological moment to solve the Irish problem in the interest of the Allies and, above all, in the interest of the most effective possible participation of the United States in the war." "Those who are acquainted with the mind of

the President," the correspondent added, "know that before the autocratic frightfulness of Germany finally drove him into declaring war for the salvation of democracy he was constantly confronted by two arguments which he found it very difficult to answer. One of these arguments concerned Russia. When he was asked: 'Do you think the victory of Tsardom will be in the interests of democracy?' he was reduced to silence. The recent revolution dramatically removed this obstacle to clear vision of the issue of the war as a struggle between democracy and autocracy. It dissipated the last scruples of the President, but it left Great Britain in the anomalous light of being the only Power in the democratic Entente which was open to the charge of 'oppressing' a small nation."

If the crisis of the war was felt by the Americans from President Wilson downwards to have brought "the psychological moment to solve the Irish problem," why should it be complained that we were taking advantage of England's calamity if we pressed the solution of the Indian problem *now and during the war*? The position of the Irish in the Empire has not been for some time past that of an "oppressed" nation. But if Americans thought of the Irish with all their political rights as "oppressed," what should they think of Indians with their far inferior political status?

"In his famous Guildhall speech Mr. Lloyd George said:—

"If he appealed for a settlement in Ireland, it was because he knew from facts driven into his mind every hour that in America, Australia and every other part, it was regarded as one of the essentials of speedy victory."

"We learn from *New India* (June 12, 1917) that almost immediately after America's declaration of war, Mr. Medill McCormick introduced the following resolution into the House of Representatives:—

Whereas the United States is now at war with the German Empire, and whereas the other Great Powers at war with the Empire have voiced their purpose to secure the rights of small peoples no less than of great, therefore be it resolved that the House of Representatives send its greetings to the Chambers of Deputies at Rome and at Paris, to the Duma at Petrograd, to the House of Commons at London and Ottawa, to the House of Assembly at Cape Town, and to the House of Representatives at Melbourne and Wellington, and that this House express to the other Chambers the hope that peace shall witness the restoration of Belgium and Serbia and the establishment of a united and self-governing Ireland and Poland.

Resolved further, that the Speakers of the House of Representatives transmit these resolutions to the Presidents and Speakers respectively of the several Chambers herein named.

"The same paper quotes the opinions of

Mr. J. F. Fitzgerald, late Mayor of Boston, of Mr. Justice V. J. Dowling, of the Appellate Division of the New York supreme court, of the President of Columbia University, of Colonel Harvey, Editor of the *North American Review*, of the Mayor of New York, and of Archbishop Ireland, all asking that Home Rule shall be given without further delay to Ireland. Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Dr. Charles Eliot, President of Harvard University, Cardinal Gibbons—all have appealed to Britain to do her duty to Ireland and to justify her assertion that she is fighting in the cause of liberty. And the *Times'* correspondent at Washington has cabled to his newspaper that Americans

are inclined to attribute the tragedy of our relations with Ireland to the same John Bullish stupidity that produced the American Revolution. Since the Ulster crisis of 1914 they have, indeed, begun to see that there are two sides to the question. But the effect of that realisation has been modified by the War. German assertions that we are insincere in our protestations regarding the freedom of small Nationalities tend to place us in a somewhat illogical light.

"And further that

when it is a life and death matter, not only to the British Empire but to the free democratic institution of the world, that this War should be successfully prosecuted, British reputation for statesmanship and patriotism will suffer badly if such a sacrifice to the common cause is refused. Inversely a settlement will immensely increase our prestige here, will clinch the success of Mr. Balfour's mission, will help the President to weld his countrymen together behind a vigorous prosecution of the War, and will render infinitely smoother Anglo-American relationship. London, Dublin, and Belfast have, in fact, the power to deal the German Trans-Atlantic intrigue a deadly blow."

When we quoted the above we asked: "Why does not any nation exert similar pressure on Great Britain for India, though India's political status is far inferior to that of Ireland?" We need not repeat our answer, which is to be found in the book from which we have quoted above. 28-4-1918.

Ireland and India.

Considering that the political status of Indians is far inferior to that of Irishmen, the following sentence, taken from what Mr. Lloyd George said in the course of the discussion of the man-power bill, applies with far greater force to India than to Ireland:

"When large numbers of Irish youths were brought into the fighting line, it was right that they should

feel that they were not fighting to establish a principle abroad which had not been applied to them."

We may be told to wait patiently, as a vague general promise of responsible government to be granted in future has been made, and Mr. Montagu is on his way back to England with a Reform Scheme in his pocket. Patient we have been always, far more so than any Western people. But we should like to know why a vague promise with its fulfilment left to the indefinite future has not been acceptable to and sufficed for the Irish, the British women, and the British soldiers and sailors, who were already in possession of far greater rights of citizenship than ourselves? We should also like to know why President Wilson and the Americans could not be put off with a mere promise. 28-4-1918.

Conscription in Ireland, and in India.

In the course of the debate on the Man-power Bill in the House of Commons,

Mr. Asquith said the proposal for Conscription in Ireland had already been twice considered and twice deliberately rejected by the late Government because they were convinced that the disadvantages outweighed purely military advantages. He regretted that Ireland refused to accept Conscription. The Irish view was perhaps difficult to appreciate, but in a free Empire we must take peoples as they are. Proceeding, he instanced Australia whose devotion to the cause of the Empire was undisputed. Australia had given her children and resources in every theatre of war unstintedly and with a free heart, yet she would not have Conscription although it was urged by an energetic and robust politician. Twice she was consulted and twice refused. Even had they power, none would dream of asking the Imperial Government to impose compulsion on Australia. He urged that the Government would be guilty of terrible shortsightedness when the Convention had completed its labours to impose compulsion on Ireland.

The different press opinions in the United Kingdom should also be noted.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)

London, April 10.

Reed. 8-30 p.m., April 12.

"The Times" and the "Daily Mail" warn Nationalists that they will only damage themselves and inflict an irreparable blow on Home Rule if they oppose measures vital to the existence of the nation.

The "Daily News" says that Mr. Lloyd George seemed to throw a calculated challenge to Ireland. The Government's proposal is like mid-summer madness.

The "Daily Chronicle" regards the attempt to enact an Irish conscription at this juncture as a blunder and earnestly hopes that even now the Government will open its ears to saner counsels.

The "Daily Telegraph" says that Nationalist members of Parliament avow an intention of return-

ing to Ireland this week-end. Some opine that there will arise an alliance between Nationalists and Sinn-Felners.

The Irish Catholics Standing Committee consisting of Cardinal Logue and the bishops of Cloyne and Kildare at a meeting at Dublin yesterday passed a resolution declaring that the attempt to enforce conscription was a fatal mistake.

Irish press comment on the proposal to extend conscription to Ireland follows party lines.

The "Irish Times" says that only one thing could be more unfortunate than a total exemption of Ireland from compulsory service, namely the enactment of compulsion and subsequent hesitation to enforce it in the face of lawless threats.

The Nationalist "Freeman's Journal" declares that the Government is mad.

All these and the determination of the Irish Nationalists to resist conscription, would show the political wisdom and commonsense possessed by those who have suggested any kind of conscription for Bengal. 28-4-1918.

Indian Medicinal Plants.

The Review of Reviews tells us :—

The enormous increase in the demand for various drugs caused by the needs of wounded soldiers, the difficulties that beset traffic, and the sequestration by blockade of the vast quantities of medicaments formerly exported by Germany have sent the prices of pharmaceuticals soaring. Small wonder, therefore, at the widespread stimulation of interest in the gathering and the growing of medicinal herbs.

In India, too, the prices of medicines prescribed by allopathic physicians has increased enormously. But it is greatly to be regretted that in our country there has not been any stimulation of interest in the gathering and the growing of medicinal herbs. In that recently published monumental work, "*Indian Medicinal Plants*", by Lieutenant-Colonel Kirtikar, I.M.S. (now deceased), Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired) and a retired I.C.S., attention is drawn to the additional importance which the study, collection and growth of Indian medicinal herbs have acquired on account of the war. It is stated there that "the present war emphasises the necessity of extensively growing medicinal plants especially in India where, with little difficulty, economic plants of all lands can be cultivated". In a foot note it is added :

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, M.D., F.R.C.P., K.C.I.E., I.M.S., the founder of the Calcutta Tropical School of Medicine, is reported to have said before the Indian Industrial Commission, that "most of the drugs imported into India were absolute refuse, and considering that one-half of the drugs in the British Pharmacopoeia are indigenous to India and that most of the rest could be cultivated, there is clearly an opportunity of developing an industry that has been almost neglected, and if India is to

grow its own drugs it must take care that it gets them unadulterated."

The same British journal from which we have quoted above informs us that "The Dutch monthly *De Natuur* (Haarlem) recently gave a brief account of the Society for Promoting Medicinal Plant Gardens, with the announcement that through the influence of Dr. G. Van Iterson, head professor at Delft of the Department of Microscopic Anatomy, the Dutch Minister of the Interior had allotted to the Society a portion of the Experimental Garden of Technical Plants for the promotion of its aims."

A Society for Promoting Medicinal Plant Gardens could do very good work in India. There are a few Ayurvedic physicians who have small gardens of this description ; but they do not appear to be scientifically managed and cultivated. For such scientific gardening they would find invaluable and indispensable help in "*Indian Medicinal Plant*," with its botanically descriptive volumes dealing with 1380 plants and more than 1000 well-drawn and neatly printed plates. Where known, the Sanskrit and vernacular names have been given. The botanical descriptions, the Sanskrit and Vernacular names and the illustrations would enable our Ayurvedic physician-druggists to identify the plants they might require. Now that this work has been published, no physician of repute preparing and prescribing Indian medicines and no pharmaceutical firm manufacturing Indian medicines, should be without a copy of it.

Serious work in the line of promoting medicinal plant gardens is, we learn, also being done in France. Under the title of "*Medicinal Plants and the War*," *La Nature* (Paris) quotes from an official document issued by the Minister of Agriculture giving the varieties marketable.

Those most in demand include arnica, mullein, borage, poppy, mallows, lavender, camomile, linden flowers and bracts, colt's foot, broom, ash, walnut, blackberry, hyosciamus, datura, balm, night-shade, sage, soap-wort, valerian, elder, colchicum, pine, etc. Somewhat less heavy sales are made of the nettle, lily-of-the-valley, liverwort, worm-wood-elecampane, meadow-sweet, vervain, chicory, ground-ivy, touch-me-not, bugloss.

Moderate sales are made of dock, dandelion, rest harrow, and bistort; and slight sales are made of the cornflower, anemone, stork's-bill, hart's-tounge, joint-grass, eye-bright, galega, plaintain, tansy, scrophularia, veronica, solomon's-seal, shepherd's purse, poplar buds, etc.

The species in use in France may be divided into

four categories: (1) Those gathered wild; (2) native species cultivated; (3) exotic species raised in gardens; (4) drugs raised in warm countries and in our own colonies in particular.

In the lists quoted above, even the uninitiated will easily recognise several plants which are indigenous to our country. If in the midst of the desolation, sufferings and anxiety caused by the war, France can attend to the growing of medicinal plants, why cannot we? There is money in the work and it is one way of relieving human misery, too.

The Situation in Kaira.

To understand why the ryots in Kaira district in Gujarat have resorted to passive resistance it is necessary to know the points of disagreement between Government and the ryots. Mr. M. K. Gandhi says:—

In the District of Kaira the crops for the year 1917-18 have, by common admission, proved a partial failure. Under the Revenue Rules, if the crops are under four annas the cultivators are entitled to full suspension of the Revenue assessment for the year, if the crops are under six annas but over four annas, half the amount of assessment is suspended. So far as I am aware, the Government have been pleased to grant full suspension with regard to one village out of nearly 600, and half-suspension in the case of over 104 villages. It is claimed on behalf of the Ryots that the suspension is not at all adequate to the actuality. The Government contend that in the best majority of villages, crops have been over six annas. The only question, therefore, at issue is, whether the crops have been under four annas or six annas, as the case may be, or over the latter figure.

The ryots' case rests on careful enquiries made by Mr. Gandhi and other public leaders, with the help of many assistants.

Mr. Gandhi writes:—

I have suggested that, as both the Government and agriculturists hold themselves in the right, if the Government have any regard for popular opinion, they should appoint an impartial committee of inquiry with the cultivator's representatives upon it, or gracefully accept the popular view. The Government have rejected both the suggestions and insist upon employing coercive measures for the collection of revenue. It may be mentioned that these measures have never been totally suspended and in many cases the Ryots had paid simply under pressure. The Talatis have taken away cattle, and have returned them only after the payment of assessment. Every means of seeking redress by prayer has been exhausted. Interviews with the Collector, the Commissioner and his Excellency have taken place. The final suggestion that was made is this:—

Although in the majority of cases people are entitled to full suspension, half suspension should be granted, throughout the District, except for the villages which show by common consent, crops over six annas. Such a gracious concession may be accompanied by a declaration that the Government would expect those who have ready means, voluntarily to

pay up the dues, we the workers on our part undertaking to persuade such people to pay up the Government dues. This will leave only the poorest people untouched.

This suggestion, too, was not accepted. Consequently Mr. M. K. Gandhi advised the ryots not to pay their dues. More than 2500 ryots have vowed not to pay rent, and in spite of threats, the taking away of cattle and metal vessels and women's ornaments, attachment of standing crops and grains in the fields, and the confiscation of lands, almost all who have taken the vow have stood firm. Mr. Gandhi has appealed to the press and the public thus:—

I venture to invite the press and the public to assist those cultivators of Kaira who have dared to enter upon a fight for what they consider is just and right. Let the public remember this also that unprecedentedly severe plague has decimated the population of Kaira. People are living outside their homes in specially prepared thatched cottages at considerable expense to themselves. In some villages mortality has been tremendous. Prices are ruling high, of which, owing to the failure of crops, they can but take little advantage and have to suffer all the disadvantages thereof. It is not money they want, so much as the voice of a strong unanimous and emphatic public opinion.

Out of the many ennobling incidents of the campaign one may be mentioned here.

Mr. Shankar Lall Parikh, a landlord who is one of the leaders of the agitation in Kaira, while engaged in preaching *Satyagraha* in other villages came to know that his own agents had paid up his land revenue in his absence. Mr. Parikh brought this to the notice of Mr. Gandhi, who asked him to hand over all his lands to the villages for the purpose of education and sanitation by way of atonement for his mistake. Mr. Parikh, it is understood, has carried out this suggestion.

It is to be hoped that when this hateless and bloodless fight comes to a close, a full account of it will be published in book form, describing its origin and progress, with all the important speeches made and the striking examples of heroism displayed by the men and women of Kaira.

We print below passages from some speeches made and letters written by Mr. Gandhi.

At Vadod Mr. Gandhi laid emphasis on the inner meaning of the struggle and said that their supreme object was to convince the Government that no Government could go on for a day, without consulting and respecting public opinion. "The nation is emasculated," he said, "and there is no way out of it but that of keeping fast to our anchor while we are passing through a supreme ordeal." In a pathetic simile he likened the condition of people shuddering at the sight of Government officers to the piteous spectacle of

bullocks shying, shedding tears and perspiring when motor-cars rushed past them. "It is from this mortal fear of the Sirkar that we have to shake ourselves free," he said, "and on our doing so rests our salvation."

The Hon. Mr. Pratt, commissioner, addressed the people of Kaira on the 12th April, trying to persuade them to break their vows and pay rent. In the course of the address he said :

You may bear fully in mind that any amount of your effort in this matter is bound to be futile. My words are final orders and they are not my personal orders. But they are the orders of His Excellency Lord Willingdon. I have a letter from His Excellency in which he has been pleased to say that he would confirm whatever orders I may pass in the matter and every word that I may say. This is Lord Willingdon's letter. You may therefore understand that it is not I who say this. It is His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

He could not possibly forget to bring in the inevitable war argument.

A world war is waging. And the time is such that Government needs to be given all the help that is possible. What however have they been getting here ? Help, is it ? No, a fight instead.

The Commissioner having expressed his willingness to hear anything that the agriculturists might have to say, over a dozen of those rose one after another and frankly submitted their views. One ryot of the name of Mohanlal Pandya uttered words of truth and wisdom in a straightforward manner. He said :

Sir, the question is not now so much of payment or otherwise as of one of truth against untruth. We say that the crops have been less than four annas. Government do not believe us. If they admit that the crops are under four annas we will surely pay up the dues, for we understand that the Government are very hard pressed during the war. What is intolerable is that the word of an ordinary talati should be accepted as true, while what a respectable agriculturist says should be rejected as false. We know from the Hindoo Shastras that Harischandra renounced his whole kingdom for the sake of truth. To give up a small piece of land for the sake of truth is of no account therefore. We took the vow we have with the fullest deliberation and knowledge and we are not going to swerve therefrom even though the sun should change his course. And if in spite of this the Sirkar *wa hap* decide to deal death to us we will not fail.

In the course of his reply to Mr. Pratt's speech which Mr. Gandhi sent to the press, he wrote :

The Commissioner's position is that the revenue authorities' decision regarding suspension is final. They may and do receive and hear complaints from the Ryots but the finality of their decision cannot be questioned. This is the crux of the struggle. It is contended on behalf of the Ryots that, where there are, in matters of administrative orders, sharp

differences of opinion between local officials and them the points of difference are and ought to be referred to an impartial committee of inquiry. This, it is held, constitutes the strength of the British constitution. The Commissioner has on principle rejected this position and invited a crisis. And he has made such a fetish of it that he armed himself beforehand with a letter from Lord Willingdon to the effect that even he should not interfere with the Commissioner's decision. He brings in the war to defend his position and adjures the Ryots and me to desist from our course at this time of peril to the Empire. But I venture to suggest that the Commissioner's attitude constitutes a peril far graver than the German peril, and I am serving the Empire in trying to deliver it from this peril from within. There is no mistaking the fact that India is waking up from its long sleep. The Ryots do not need to be literate to appreciate their rights and their duties. They have but to realise their invulnerable power and no Government, however strong, can stand against their will. The Kaira Ryots are solving an Imperial problem of the first magnitude in India. They will show that it is impossible to govern men without their consent. Once the Civil Service realises this position it will supply to India truly *civil servants* who will be the bulwark of the people's rights. To-day the Civil Service rule is a rule of fear. The Kaira Ryot is fighting for the rule of love. It is the Commissioner who has produced the crisis. It was, as it is now, his duty to placate the people when he saw that they held a different view. The revenue of India will be no more in danger because a Commissioner yields to the popular demands and grants concessions than the administration of justice was in danger when Mrs. Maybrick was reprieved purely in obedience to the popular will, or the Empire was in danger because a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was replaced in obedience to the same demand. Had I hesitated to advice the people to stand firm against the Commissioner's refusal to listen to their prayer, instead of taking the open and healthy course it has taken, their discontent would have burrowed under and bred ill-will. That son is a true son of his father who rather than harbour ill-will against him frankly but respectfully tells him all he feels and equally respectfully resists him if he cannot truthfully obey his commands. I apply the same law to the relations between the Government and the people. There cannot be seasons when a man must suspend his conscience. But just as a wise father will quickly agree with his son and not incur his ill-will, especially if the family was in danger from without; even so a wise Government will quickly agree with the Ryots rather than incur their displeasure. War cannot be permitted to give a license to the officials to exact obedience to their orders, even though the Ryots may consider them to be unreasonable and unjust.

Mr. Gaudhi then proceeded to observe :

The Commissioner steels the hearts of the Ryots for continuing their course by telling them that for a revenue of four lakhs of rupees he will for ever confiscate over a hundred and fifty thousand acres of land worth over three crores of rupees, and for ever declare the holders, their wives and children unworthy of holding any lands in Kaira. He considers the Ryots to be misguided and contumacious in the same breath. These are his solemn words:

"Do not be under the impression that our

mamlatdars and our talats will realise the assessment by attaching and selling your movable property. We are not going to trouble ourselves so much. Our officers' time is valuable. Only by your bringing in the monies shall the treasuries be filled. This is no threat. You take it from me that parents never threaten their children. They only advise. But if you do not pay the dues your lands will be confiscated. Many people say that this will not happen. But I say it will. I have no need to take a vow. I shall prove that I mean what I say. The lands of those who do not pay will be confiscated. Those who are contumacious will get no lands in future. Government do not want their names on their Records of Rights. Those who go out shall never be admitted again."

I hold that it is the sacred duty of every loyal citizen to fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny.

From Mr. Gandhi's speech in Aklacha we make two extracts.

The struggle in Kaira was not a struggle for the suspension of revenue, but it was a struggle for principle. Government said that they were in the right, and that the people were wrong, or rather, as Government now put it, that they were right as well as the people, but Government desired that their power should be respected and therefore the people should pay up the revenue. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that we were being taught from our childhood that justice and nothing but justice was meted out unto us, under the present rule. That was the ideal of the British Government. Although all did not receive it, so long as it was the ideal, a subject like himself could remain loyal to that rule. But now, he said, he felt that Government was abandoning that ideal and an element of autocracy was being introduced in it. Mr. Gandhi said that such Government ought to be resisted. Our loyalty consisted in protesting against and resisting every piece of injustice that might be done to us.

The second extract is given below.

Mr. Gandhi observed that it is commanded in their Shastras that the subjects should point out any mistakes that may be committed by their king. Power is always blind and cannot easily see its mistakes. In uncivilized countries, when justice becomes blind, it is obtained through war. It so happened even in Hindoosthan for some time. But now our life is becoming soaked with the religious spirit. And so we have all begun to believe in Satyagraha for obtaining justice. Pointing out that truth always conquers, he said that all those who had taken the vow should be prepared to suffer pains for the sake of truth. That would raise them in the eyes of the world. They bore no ill-will towards Government, on the contrary they had great feelings for it.

Finally, Mr. Gandhi said: "Independence, fearlessness, truth, these are virtues which we have to obtain. They are dormant in our soul; if we cannot awaken them in ourselves, then we are not men but brutes. We fight to obtain manliness. You, my sisters, I tell you that you also request your husbands, to endure whatever pain may fall on them, but not to give the Government dues. The nation will rise when it will learn to stick to its vows. Do all you can to preserve your vow."

In a village called Sinbuj Mr. Gandhi said:

They ought to be prepared to sacrifice anything--their cattle, their ornaments, their lands, except their self-respect. He was not a religious man who was not self-respecting. He who feared God need not fear anybody in the world. The Government rule at present was a rule of fear. It is a totally wrong belief that kingdoms can exist only through fear.

Finally, he said that fearlessness was the only key to Swarajya. Addressing the ladies, he said: "Give courage to your husbands, to your children, to your brothers, like women of old and make them firm in their vow."

In the village called Od he exhorted the people thus:

"For years you have been exhausting your energy, and fearlessness in fighting each other. For once rise and be united and use the same strong elements to fight the 'Fear of the Sirkar,' the common enemy." This fear, he said, is at the root of all their misery and impoverishment and in casting that aside lies salvation.

28-4-1918.

The Social Service Exhibition.

The Social Service Exhibition recently held in Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Social Service League was a very happy idea. It has had much educative effect. The exhibits and the lectures explaining them, as well as the independent lectures, have aroused a keen interest in social service work, particularly among the youthful section of the population. The other day some college students, who were going home for the summer vacation, came to us to enquire whether they could have a loan of the exhibits for showing them publicly in their district. We told them that probably the original exhibits would not be available for the purpose, and asked them to see the Secretary or the Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Social Service League to arrange for copies of them being made. We think it would do immense good if several sets of copies could be made and exhibited in all important towns in Bengal. Perhaps the organisers themselves have some such intention.

Irish Opposition to Conscription Weakening.

The following telegram appeared in the Calcutta morning papers of the 28th April:

London, April 25.

A correspondent in Ireland suggests that hostility to Conscription is weakening, and that the Nationalists are beginning to realise that they have merely played into the hands of Sinn Feiners.

A correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" which editorially has been the severest critic of Conscription

in Ireland says the moment Mr. Dillon seeks to resume the Parliamentary policy of the Nationalist Party the present unity will disappear, and the responsibility for disturbing it will be attributed to the Nationalists. The correspondent says that the Conscription stampede has excited no answering on the other side, otherwise it would be impossible to account for the marked improvement in Irish recruiting which is accompanying the triumph of Bolshevism. Moreover the country is full of Americans whose rage against the parochialism of Catholic Ireland is a stimulating corrective. Dublin will be given every facility to go to Washington. The correspondent says: "I am as sound and firm for Home Rule as any outside Ireland, but when I compare the conditions now prevailing in Ireland with those in all other countries in Europe, I am impatient of the parrot repetition heard on all sides that the people are kept down by John Bull. Races, dances and banquets continue as usual; food and luxuries are abundant, and farmers are so prosperous that they hardly know where the money is coming from.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Active opposition to conscription in Ireland must rouse great mutual animosity and may lead even to bloodshed. That would not be undesirable. But we have not the least desire to make any comments on Irish affairs, as we do not understand their inwardness, nor have we the impertinent desire to offer any suggestions or advice to the Irish leaders, who understand their business. 29-4-1918.

Report of British Committee on Trade after War.

Efforts continue to be made by official and non-official Britishers in India to make us believe that in England Government and people are thinking, talking and writing on nothing but how immediately to win victory in the war, on which their whole attention is concentrated and which absorbs all their energies. These efforts are meant to prevent us from asking inconvenient questions, from pressing on the attention of Government problems whose solution has been due for generations and from making our just political demands and grievances known to the world. We have pointed out again and again that the Anglo-Indian picture of the United Kingdom's entire concentration on and absorption in the war is not at all a true picture, and mentioned facts in support of our opinion. The following long telegram about the final report of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's committee on commercial and industrial policy after the war furnishes an additional fact:

London, April 26.

The final report of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee on commercial and industrial policy after

the war says:—In view of the shortage of world tonnage any policy tending to check the use of ports by foreign shipping would be inexpedient although it may be desirable to impose restrictions on enemy shipping temporarily. The Committee do not think any attempt to make the Empire self-supporting in respect of all raw materials is practicable or economically sound, but a selective policy is necessary with due regard to probable military needs. The Committee deem it unwise to aim at the exclusion of foreign (other than present enemy) capital from sharing in the development of the Empire. They recommend legislation compelling the disclosure of foreign interest in particular cases and that mineral and other properties be not secured by foreign concerns in order to prevent their development and to check competition in supply and that the Dominion and Colonial Governments should have measures of control over the working of properties where commodities of great Imperial importance are concerned. The Committee recommend the adoption of a uniform policy by the Governments concerned. They do not recommend special restrictions on the participation of aliens, commercially or industrially, but pilots and patent agents should be British-born and the registration of foreign commercial travellers should be considered. Alien enemies should be temporarily subject to police regulations after the war. The Committee do not favour the establishment of an Imperial bank of industry, but suggest Government action to safeguard the development of pivotal industries. Future British economic policy should include a serious attempt to meet the declared wishes of the Dominions, Colonies and India for a readjustment and development of their economic relations with the United Kingdom and also an effort to develop trade between the Empire and the Allies. Subject to the Allies agreeing, the present enemy countries should not, at least temporarily, be allowed to trade with the Empire without restriction as before the war or on equal terms to the Allies and neutrals. The Committee recommend action similar to that of Canada against dumping goods. Preferential treatment should be accorded to overseas Dominions of the Empire in respect of custom dues now or hereafter imposed in the United Kingdom and other forms of Imperial preference should be considered. Protection should be afforded to a certain number of industries on the recommendation of a strong independent Board. The Committee oppose metric and decimal coinage systems and recommend the prohibition of the importation of enemy goods for at least a year after the war.—"Reuter."

The matters considered by the committee and their recommendations are of deep interest to India. Her material condition, and, indirectly, her moral progress, would be affected thereby. The subject will have to be dealt with carefully in future, when a fuller summary of the report is available.

29-4-1918.

The Viceroy's speech at the Delhi Conference.

The Viceroy's speech at the Delhi War Conference did not contain any original observations or any quite fresh informa-

tion. He told the audience what could be gathered from a careful study of Reuter's telegrams relating to the war and of extracts from British papers published in newspapers in India. The menace of which the Premier speaks in his message was thus explained by the Viceroy:

The terrible revolution which has hurled Russia into anarchy has opened another door for Germany through Southern Russia to the confines of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. At present famine, lawlessness and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us by that route, and, as yet, preoccupied with the stupendous struggle in the West, Germany has made no military move whatsoever in this direction; but the door is open and we must be on our guard. In this war, as in no war before, we have to look ahead and prepare for every possible contingency. Germany has not, and could not yet have made any military move in the direction I speak of; but she has already, as is her wont, thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration. The lesson she has learnt from the Russian revolution is that a stronger weapon than all the armaments that money can buy or science devise is the disruption of an enemy by his own internal forces. To this end Germany sapped and mined in Russia. To this end she will sap and mine through her agents in the Middle East, and blow on the flame of anarchy in the hope that it may spread and spread till it has enveloped the lands of her enemies regardless of all intervening havoc. When the ground has thus been prepared, then she will look for the opportunity.

The Viceroy then referred to "a bulwark against German intrigue and German machination", namely, the Amir of Afghanistan. But in that country, "as in India, there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people, such as at a time of world excitement may be carried away by any wind of vain doctrine.

Such persons may at any moment become a serious embarrassment to wise and level-headed statesmanship. One of our first thoughts, therefore, at this time must be how we can best assist the Amir of Afghanistan, who has, in the interest of his country which he loves and in accordance with the pledges which he has given, kept his ship on a straight course of neutrality between the reefs that have so often surrounded him. We can, I believe, best do so by showing our enemies, first that India is solid as a rock, and that the lambent flame of anarchical intrigue will find nothing inflammable in this country, nay, rather will be smothered and extinguished forthwith, should it approach, by the deadweight of our unity of purpose; second, that should ever our enemy have the hardihood to bring force in the direction of our borders we are ready with munitions and men to fulfil our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan by assisting him in repelling foreign aggression, and, further, to guard our own with the whole man-power and resources of India ready behind us.

The King-Emperor, however, in his message says: "It is of ever-increasing im-

portance that the operations of our armies in Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India." There is thus a difference between what the King and the Viceroy require India to do. Perhaps it is only an apparent difference.

The Viceroy says, "Germany has made no military move whatsoever" in the direction of Southern Russia, Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. He also assured the conference that "there is no reason for apprehension." This ought to be reassuring; but it does not suffice to convince the public of the urgency of the Delhi Conference, even when they are told, "Forewarned we are forearmed, and, if we stand united against the common foe, we have no cause for fear"; for the Government and people of India ought to have been forewarned and forearmed long ago. The mystery, therefore, has not been entirely cleared up, though the Viceroy has said, "I have thought it well to take you into my complete confidence and tell you how the matter stands."

The Viceroy dwell on the need for men; but, beyond indicating that the present methods of recruitment would not suffice for the needs of the situation, he gave no idea of what other methods were intended to be used. As regards India's financial aid, he would depend for the present on a successful floatation of the new war loan, and, probably because its success may be jeopardised by proposals of new taxation, such proposals would be considered in future in conjunction with the Indian legislative council. It is probable, too, that India will be asked to make a fresh direct financial contribution to His Majesty's Government. We know that the self-governing Dominions have received enormous financial help from the Home Government. Have they made any direct financial contribution to His Majesty's Government? This information should be forthcoming, for the impression should not be allowed to grow that England is taking a tribute from India, because India is a dependency. Lord Hardinge had said that India had bled white. Only so recently as 1916 Sir William Meyer considered India financially incapable of rendering direct pecuniary aid. Money in superabundance cannot in the mean time have dropped from the skies. On the other hand, Mr. Churchill said in the House of Com-

mons on April 25, "Look where you will, you will not get to the bottom of the resources of Britain." We are therefore entirely opposed to any fresh "free gift". New taxes, too, if necessary, should be levied only on such rich people as the jute mill owners who have made enormous profits on account of the war.

Two sub-committees were formed on the 27th April to consider the question of man-power in India and to suggest measures designed to mobilise that power effectively and to consider the question of India's resources under the head of munitions, communications, and food supply, and to suggest measures designed to secure efficiency and economy in regard to the production, distribution, utilization, and transport of all material connected with the successful prosecution of the war and the internal prosperity of the country.

Apparently, so far as the Viceroy's speech would lead one to suppose, the resolutions to be passed by the Conference were left to be framed by the sub-committees. But, as we have guessed, in a previous note, most probably they have been kept ready to be only endorsed by the Conference. *The Statesman* confirms that impression when its correspondent says: "The result has been to arrive at practical unanimity even before the formal meetings have commenced." Its editorial comments also strengthen our conjecture. It says:

It is only necessary to look at the questions referred to the committees to see that no large body could arrive at any definite and practical conclusions upon these matters in a day and a half, which is the time allotted for their consideration. One Committee is to examine the somewhat extensive subject of man-power in India and to suggest measures for its effective mobilisation. No heterogeneous group of thirty persons can deal with such a problem, unless it is simply invited to endorse proposals already prepared by the Commander-in-Chief, who is to be its President. The same observations apply to the Committee on the resources of India which is asked to report upon munitions, communications, and food supply, and to suggest measures to secure efficiency and economy in regard to the production, distribution, utilisation, and transport of all material connected with the successful prosecution of the war and the internal prosperity of the country. Unless Sir Claude Hill is able to place resolutions before the Committee no conclusions worth the paper on which they are printed could be framed. Clearly, therefore, the proposals must issue from the Government, and any attempt to conceal or disguise that fact is to be deprecated. The Government ought frankly to assume responsibility for their proper work and put forward their proposals, if they have any, in their own name. Meanwhile the effect of

this play-acting is to keep the country for two days longer in ignorance of the means by which India is to redouble her efforts towards the winning of the war.

The Indian Daily News takes it for granted that the proposals were all framed beforehand.

Indeed, in the whole speech there is very little that bears directly on what it is proposed to do. This is left to the Committees, who are given only a few hours in which to report. The task would, of course, prove an impossible one, were not all the proposals framed beforehand. It is a seemingly useless and backboneless bit of camouflage whereby the Government may be represented by unscrupulous opponents as seeking to evade responsibility, and as throwing the onus of the whole business on the strange assortment of India's representatives now assembled at Delhi.

29-4-1918.

"Her Salt".

There is a sentence in the Viceroy's speech which would awaken thoughts which His Excellency did not intend to rouse: "India remains now as ever true to her salt." We do not mean here to dwell on the fact that the edible thing called salt which India now consumes is not wholly produced in India, though it can and ought to be. The first thought which arose in our mind when we read this sentence is that, figuratively, the salt to which India is true is really *her own* salt. She has not, metaphorically, eaten the salt of England or any other country. On the contrary, it is England which has eaten India's salt, and the British people ought to ask themselves whether they are true to India's salt. 29-4-1918.

"Her War".

The Viceroy says:

I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large. I want her to realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland.

The attempt to carry India herself along with the Empire at large and to make her realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland, can succeed only if India's political status and rights and privileges be the same as those of any other part of the Empire, and if India's sons can feel that India is their motherland not only geographically but morally and politically, too. 29-4-1918.

The Liberty of the Whole World before that of the parts!

The Viceroy has observed:

In the face of the common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning, and surely no one can say that India has any cause for complaint on this score. It was only in August last that the momentous declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government was made. Close on the heels of that announcement the Secretary of State came out to India, and he and I have been at work on the problem for the past six months. Mr. Montagu is now on his way home, carrying with him a joint report and recommendations on the momentous declaration of policy made by His Majesty's Government last August.

Will His Excellency very kindly ask himself a few questions? Is the common danger greater or less in the United Kingdom than in India? Throughout the duration of the war up, to the present hour, have the people of the United Kingdom been discussing and paying attention to other and smaller issues than the war, or have they not? Have the British people waited for the liberty of the world to be won before further liberalising their already very liberal political institutions by the new Reform Act of this year and by appointing a committee to reform the House of Lords, which has already submitted its report? Have the Irish people waited for the liberty of the world to be won before seeking to liberalise the political institutions of their island, and have the Americans waited for the liberty of the world to be won before asking that Ireland should be made to feel that she was as free as England? Anyhow, we appreciate the compliment which His Excellency pays us by expecting us to be more reasonable and mathematical than his own countrymen and the people of Ireland and America.

If Lord Chelmsford had been an Indian he could have understood whether India had any cause for complaint on the subject of liberalising Indian political institutions. All that he says regarding what has happened since August is true. But we have not been told definitely when there is to be responsible government and what the contents of the joint report are. And the mere telling is not the most important part of the affair. Parts of the Empire already in enjoyment of the franchise and other political rights have the franchise extended and more rights conferred on them *during the war*, whilst we are treated to phrases and sermons on patience,

decorum, and so forth. Certainly this is no cause for complaint. 29-4-1918.

Exploiting England's Difficulty and Bargaining.

The Viceroy had something to say on exploiting England's difficulty and the huckstering spirit:

In these days of stress and strain it is idle to ask men to come together who disagree on first principles. While they are wrangling over those, while the house is burning, there are those who would exploit England's difficulty. I believe that these people gravely misinterpret India's attitude. I am sure that there are none here who will countenance such a policy. There are those, again, who would wish to bargain. Again I decline to believe that anyone has come to this Conference in a huckstering spirit. Lastly, there are some who would busy themselves with this thing or that. To these I would say that, as at home and in other countries, we have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over, but our task in this respect is now over for the present. We have heard all those who had a right to be heard and we have a right to ask for patience. No decisive steps will be taken without opportunity being given for discussion and criticism. Let me then take Burke's immortal phrase and say: "Let us pass on, for God's sake let us pass on."

We could wish some one had passed on Burke's "immortal phrase" to the present-day Irish countrymen of that great orator, before it had been thought of in connection with the distant and dusky race whom he had in his life-time tried to befriend, and whose affairs still continue to make their rulers yawn and say, "Let us pass on, for God's sake let us pass on" to something more interesting.

As, by pure chance, some of our previous notes in this number, written some days before we could see the Viceroy's speech in the daily papers, contain observations on the charges of taking advantage of England's calamity and bargaining brought against certain sections of our countrymen, we shall not write anything more on the Viceroy's reference to those who, while the house is burning, would exploit England's difficulty and to those who would wish to bargain. Those of our countrymen who have been sought to be indicted may or may not be to blame. Of that neither ourselves nor men of the British nation would be able impartially to judge. Persons who are really disinterested, and posterity, will judge. We could only earnestly wish that the Viceroy and other Englishmen in authority

and non-official Englishmen like the Anglo-Indian journalists would now and then reflect whether there has not been a continuous attempt to exploit India's loyalty and the old-world chivalry, dignity, generosity, considerateness and sense of decorum in the oriental nature of India's sons and India's daughters.

Right and Might.

Addressing a meeting commemorating the first anniversary of America's entry into the war and inaugurating a campaign for the third Liberty Loan, President Wilson made a notable speech. Its peroration is worth quoting.

It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all we love and all we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all we do. Let everything we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honour and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force alone shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it, or dominion as she conceives it, shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is therefore but one response possible from us, force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, righteous, triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

Though England's reasons for entering the war were not exactly the same which have led America to join the fray, England and America are one in declaring that it is right alone that is worth fighting for. In his speech at the Delhi Conference Lord Chelmsford also said :

The guns are thundering and men are dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue "Is right might?" or "Is might right?" And your Emperor calls upon India at this supreme moment to rally to his call and establish it for all time that right is might.

It is not always that right triumphs over mere might; but it still remains right. The rightness of right does not lie in outward victory. That right, even when defeated, continues to be right, is hard for powerful and prosperous nations to recognise. Defeated peoples often see truths which victorious nations cannot perceive.

29-4-1918.

Delhi War Conference Proceedings.

To-day (April 30) we have read the proceedings of the War Conference at Delhi

with some relief. There have not been any proposals to adopt conscription, to impose additional taxation, to exact a fresh "free gift" of some hundreds of crores from India, or to stop political propaganda. Whether the Associated Press were wrong in sending to the papers beforehand misleading telegrams regarding the objects of the Conference, or whether the public attitude regarding some of the alleged objects made the authorities change their mind, is not known.

Taxation is likely to be resorted to and a fresh free gift demanded when the Indian legislative council meets in September next. These dangers exist. The idea, too, of resorting to conscription has not been definitely given up for good. The sub-committee on man-power have expressed the opinion that "India's effort should be a voluntary one and that it is not necessary at present to consider the question of conscription." We hope conscription will never be resorted to in India, so long, at any rate, as she remains without complete national autonomy and liberal political institutions of a fully representative character.

The Conference has cordially endorsed the recommendations submitted by the two sub-committees. These were non-contentious in their nature. In fact some of the recommendations of the man-power sub-committee have met some insistent demands of the public, as will appear from the following :

- (c) That this committee desire to impress on the Government the necessity for the grant of a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians and urge as a corollary to this that measures be taken for training the recipients of these commissions.
- (d) That this Committee recommend that the Government be invited to consider without delay the question of a substantial increase of the pay of Indian soldiers.

The proposals made by the resources sub-committee were also practical. We need not refer to them in detail. "The purpose of encouraging the people to confine their private requirements as nearly as possible to local production in order to save unnecessary demands for railway transport," is very commendable. If the people can be made to form the desired habit, it will continue to benefit them and the country long after the close of the war. Another recommendation of the sub-committee which is calculated to produce far-reaching effects, runs as follows :

This Conference recommends that for the purpose of minimising the serious hardships to the public and the dislocation of trade caused by the congestion of traffic on railways, it is necessary that the Government should, with as little delay as possible, take measures for the constitution by itself of river craft for inland transport, of sailing ships for ocean transport and also as far as possible of steamships and should by the grant of subsidies or concessions encourage the construction of the same by private agencies.

A very important and vitally important resolution of this sub-committee drew attention to the problem of increasing food production.

The Hon. Mr. Khaparde had given notice of the following motion.

That this conference recommends that in order to invoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilise the man-power and material and money, the Government in England should without delay introduce a Bill into Parliament, meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the statute. We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their Motherland and for freedom in the defence of their own rights in an Empire in which they possess the same status as the other members thereof and

we are further sure that if the imagination of our country is captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged, it can easily equip itself to be, in the language of the Premier, the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

The Viceroy ruled it out of order. The ruling was technically correct. But Mr. Khaparde did well to draw attention to the matter in the way he did. The problem of constitutional changes in India is at least as urgent and its solution as much needed for the prosecution of the war as the British Reform Act and Irish Home Rule, and if, as the Viceroy rightly pointed out, the Delhi War Conference was not competent to deal with it, certainly there are other persons and bodies who are, and they should set themselves to its immediate solution. Mr. Jinnah voiced public opinion in his short speech explaining the position of those who think that war measures would be helped and in no way prejudiced by the taking up of constitutional questions in connection with them.